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# The Secret History of the English Spy: 1674-1800

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# THE SECRET HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH SPY: 1674-1800

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of

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by

Slaney Chadwick Ross

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For my parents and my brother, and to the memory of Elena Vaughan Ariano

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# ABSTRACT

Ross, Slaney C. Ph.D, Purdue University, May 2015. The Secret History of the English Spy: 1674-1800. Major Professor: Manushag N. Powell.

This project traces the emergence of the spy in the literature of the eighteenth century, arguing for spying's ideological transition within the cultural and literary imagination from a profession to a way of being. At stake in "The Secret History of the English Spy: 1674-1800" is the idea that surveillance, spying, and state secrecy inform and meaningfully intersect with eighteenth century narrative fiction. Through analysis of a variety of surveillance fictions, including spy narratives, financial tell-alls, periodicals, amatory secret histories, and domestic and Gothic fictions, I incorporate the idea of surveillance into eighteenth-century literary history in order to more thoroughly understand how the genre speaks back to eighteenth-century conceptions of gender, class, and selfhood.

# INTRODUCTION: SPY NARRATIVES, SECRET HISTORIES, AND THE CONTEXTS FOR EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY SURVEILLANCE

This dissertation is concerned with fictional representations of both political and social surveillance throughout the eighteenth century, mediated through the figure of the spy who begins to appear prominently in fictions and biographical life writings at the end of the seventeenth century. I consider spy narratives as reflections of cultural preoccupations with conspiracy and surveillance, and also as imaginative outlets for processing historical events and ideological shifts. Furthermore, I suggest that a new conception of spying as an act of individual social critique emerged out of the decentralization of the absolutist monarchy in in seventeenth-century England. This project traces the emergence of the spy in the literature of the eighteenth century as an individual with his own private motives that create a distinct interiority. In doing so, it follows spying's ideological transition within the cultural and literary imagination from a profession to a way of being.

In the following introduction, I will then discuss surveillance narratives as a genre more fully, in order to explain the crucial relationship that I argue exists between the surveillance chronicle and the novel form. I will also offer some historical context for this relationship by explaining the history of surveillance chronicle publication in England and its larger relationship to seventeenth-century England's conflicted relationship with

absolutism. I will follow this with a brief overview of the existing critical work on eighteenth-century surveillance fictions and fictions of espionage, in order to distinguish my argument from what has come before and to argue for the relevance of eighteenth-century surveillance as a subject of scholarly interest; the history of the English spy is much longer and more variegated than current critical scholarship suggests. I will then account for various narrative strategies and concerns of surveillance narratives throughout the eighteenth century, particularly as they relate to economics, sex and gender, and paranoia. I conclude by offering brief summaries of my four chapters.

The spy—an individual who surreptitiously gathers information about people or places, often on behalf of another person or a government (*OED*)— imaginatively reflects the public's concerns about political events and private morality. Writing about twentieth-century spy narratives, Alan Hepburn proclaims, "Ideology produces spies, but spies temper ideology with private motives" (xiv). Both eighteenth- and twentieth-century spies possess a virtuoso ability to permeate boundaries, cross geographical and social borders, and report on the inner workings of social, economic, and political power structures. The spy figure thus becomes "a locus for cultural fantasies" (xv). In late-seventeenth and early-eighteenth century narratives, both spies and secret historians claim to have access to information that other people do not have; this narrative warrant presumably makes the reader hungry to know more so that she can be in the know herself. To read a secret history or a spy narrative is to gain the same privileged information and access to power that the writer possesses. In this project, I use the terms "surveillance narrative" and "surveillance chronicle" to refer to literature, including secret histories, on the subject of secrecy and surveillance.

The secret history is aligned with spying by definition: the spy and the secret history both claim to reveal what has been hidden (one of the definitions of "espy" in Johnson's *Dictionary* is "to discover a thing intended to be hid"). The figure of the spy is also implicated in secret histories' concerns with representing alternative versions of history and forms of narrative, as well as their promise to reveal the (sometimes multiple) truths of their subjects. Thus, guided by Bannet and Rebecca Bullard, who have paved the way for the serious consideration of secret history as an important Enlightenment genre in their alignment of the secret history with contemporary issues of politics, censorship, gender, and economics, I consider secret histories under the rubric of surveillance fiction, which also includes a variety of literary subgenres from late seventeenth-century histories,[1] life writing, early eighteenth-century periodicals, secret histories and scandal fictions, and late-century secret histories and Gothic novels.[2]

Late-seventeenth and early-eighteenth century secret histories are the nascent form of the surveillance chronicle that later becomes the modern spy novel. By the mid-eighteenth century, the combination of interiority and privileged insider status in secret histories and spy narratives became a defining feature of the novel form when the domestic novel's inception, which offers stories of private people for public consumption, became wildly popular with the publication of Samuel Richardson's *Pamela* (1740). The novel, as Srinivas Aravamudan and Ros Ballaster have both argued, owes a great debt to surveillance fiction (Aravamudan 4-5; Ballaster *Oriental Fictions* 2). The novel form takes up the privileged insider status of secret histories and spy narratives by the mid-eighteenth century. The novel's interest in watching and listening, and in revelations of secrets, positions the genre as a mid- and late-eighteenth century answer to secret

histories and other surveillance fictions of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century. Works identifying as surveillance fictions—whether secret histories or spy narratives—did not cease to appear as the novel rose to prominence in the mid-eighteenth century, but they did become more rare. This dissertation suggests that domestic and gothic novels enfolded generic elements of the surveillance fictions.

Before considering the eighteenth-century spy in particular, we must first dispel certain critical misconceptions about the genesis of the modern spy narratives. The idea that spy narratives originate in "Victorian pornography, with its locked rooms, secret amorality, and the general suggestion of threat to established values" (Woods 9), for instance, precludes a broader awareness of how deeply stories about surveillance have penetrated the modern psyche since the early modern period. Such a notion erases almost two hundred years of surveillance fiction, and obscures its transnational roots. This is a crucial distinction, as Victorian/Edwardian spy fiction originated in rather rabid xenophobia and in a climate of fear about foreign invasion (Hepburn 11), while the popularity of the late seventeenth-century spy narrative, as I have noted above, can be traced to *The Turkish Spy* and even Montesquieu's *Persian Letters* (1720), both transnational narratives of expansive curiosity. As Aravamudan's study of the transnational surveillance chronicle contends, Eastern tales offer ideas about knowledge and power that are entirely out of sync with the type of imperialist discourse that nineteenth and twentieth century scholars have tended to read onto eighteenth-narratives (4-5). According to Ballaster, the notion that spies and secret historians operate as several selves in one body is an implication of the transnational nature of spy narratives and secret histories (*Oriental Fictions* 2).[3] The spy's divided subjectivity is a crucial aspect of

the genre in the late-twentieth and early twenty-first century, but it is hard to locate in the often-xenophobic spy narratives of the Victorian/Edwardian era.

My study begins in 1674, when secret history as a form became popular in England with the translation and publication of Prokopius of Kaisareia's fifth-century secret history *Anekdota*. The parallels between Constantine's court in *Anekdota* and that of Charles II in the many secret histories surrounding his reign, for example, are a striking record of writers' concerns and fears about the implications of their rulers' private lives—from their sexual peccadilloes to their spending habits—on the health of the nation. A few years later, Giovanni Paolo Marana's *L'Espion du Turc* (*The Turkish Spy*)[4] was published in France (1684; English translation, 1687); this epistolary spy narrative "anticipates the periodical essay and the novelistic interpretation" (Aravamudan 44).[5] Secret histories thus had a lasting impact on the production of a literature of surveillance throughout the eighteenth century.

Louis XIV's absolutist reign in France created the perfect pre-conditions for *The Turkish Spy*: the story of Mahmut's embedment in an alien culture was wildly popular in its English translation because readers were obsessively interested in comparing English and French politics, in the representation of Catholicism, and in the private lives of the French royal family, all of which Mahmut provided under the guise of writing to his contacts scattered throughout the Ottoman Empire. The popularity of *The Turkish Spy*, purportedly written by an Italian author and allegedly translated from Arabic into both French and English illustrates that "[s]pying is one of the chronotopic motifs that saturate British and French fiction" (Aravamudan 41). According to Bullard, the popularity of secret histories in late seventeenth-century France is partially attributable to the form's

association with the overthrow of despotic rulers: "French polemicists attempt[ed] to use secret history to 'import' the success of the English Revolution into Louis XIV's France" (49). Louis XIV and his ministers were the perfect *bêtes noire* for English secret historians, particularly Whigs who believed that "insidious French influence," itself influenced by the exiled Jacobite court, which Louis XIV delighted in recognizing, had secretly penetrated the English monarchy (57). Thus there is an ideological exchange at work between English and French secret histories.[6]

*The Turkish Spy* portrays the all-powerful absolutist French court as prey to invasion by subversive elements such as Mahmut, but also presents the Ottoman Empire as similarly subject to infighting, paranoia, and suspicion. Caught up in the similarities between his homeland and enemy territory, Mahmut suffers from a series of existential crises throughout his narrative.[7] In Eastern-inflected spy narratives such as *The Turkish Spy*, a split self emerges when the spy is stranded in a strange land without contact with his home culture.[8] Operating alone in a foreign land often causes the spy to question the source of the power that sent him thither. Spies, argues Aravamudan, tend to operate alone without support from or contact with their home cultures. Mahmut's case is quintessential: his narrative is a series of letters to various people across Europe and the Ottoman Empire, the responses to which, if they come at all, are never recorded. He laments in a letter to a friend, "There is no End of my Doubts and Scruples. Every Thing appears to me as Ambiguous, as the Answers of the Delphick Oracle. Nay, I am a perfect Riddle to my self" (V.60). The lack of support Mahmut receives from his friends, his government, and even his religious leaders takes its toll on him over the course of the

narrative and he questions not only the purpose of his mission but his own subjective existence.

Subsequent surveillance chronicles are deeply concerned with how individual interiority responds to duplicity; the idea that one's behavior and one's beliefs could be separate—that one could, for example, pretend to be a staunch Tory, but really be "a Whig in his heart" (Defoe, *White Staff* 30). The figure of eighteenth-century spy shows us that the very existence of the spy already pre-supposes the ideological foundations of absolutist government are shaky. Spies often question their social and political surroundings and, by implication, the structure of power. The demystification of—and, often, disillusionment with—power and authority is a common thread among surveillance narratives.[9] In court secret histories, for example, authors can sidestep potentially treasonous or libelous claims against the monarch by blaming his failings on avaricious and self-interested courtiers who, in the narrative, wield excessive power over the monarch with little grace, demanding land, appointments, and other indulgences and reminding him that "they kept the crown upon his head" (Defoe, *The Secret History of One Year* 25). The spy comes into being in order to index concerns about power, authority, and surveillance; even as he ostensibly represents secret government cabals and shadowy agencies with no official existence, his subjective self often rails against these figures, and this conflict plays out in how he responds to both his perceived enemies and to those who are meant to be his friends and compatriots. Some early fictions of surveillance, following the lead of *The Turkish Spy*, deal with this problem moralistically, demonstrating how lying about his identity gradually deteriorates the spy's psyche, plunging him into paranoia and self-doubt; others (such as Edward Ward's *The London*

*Spy* [1698-1700]) merrily present a world in which it is taken for granted that everyone is a hypocrite because everyone is already a spy. In these surveillance narratives, which tend to be centered on urban life, spying is a legitimate, ethical way to navigate society.

My analysis of eighteenth-century spy narratives accounts for how these divided subjectivities are represented in terms of gender. Both male and female spies are often conflicted about presenting a false identity to the world; as Kingsley Amis proclaims in his book about James Bond, "a secret agent (in fiction) has no choice but to be a hypocrite" (19). In the eighteenth century, duplicity is gendered: women are represented as naturally duplicitous, innate double agents, and the male spy both despises and admires them. In mid-century domestic fictions, female duplicity is represented as controllable through forms of male counter-surveillance, however the idea that women are always already spies still lingers uneasily in even narratives such as Richardson's *Pamela* that end with men co-opting women's powers on behalf of the patriarchal family.

This study also emphasizes the relationship between surveillance chronicles and print periodicals in the early decades of the eighteenth century. Prominent periodicalists, including Ward, Haywood and Defoe, also wrote secret histories at points in their career. Furthermore, the idea of the periodical as a device for regulating behavior aligns with the secret history's mission to expose the scandalous practices of prominent social and political figures. As Paul Scott Gordon reminds us, Defoe's *Review* "introduced to English newspapers the practice of exposing behaviors readers would rather keep hidden" (95). The impetus to expose, to survey, and to regulate behavior meant using the same embedded surveillance practices on one's neighbors that the government used on potential enemies of state.

As I have argued above, the eighteenth-century novel shares the same purview as the secret history, whose "central claim to disclose previously undisclosed intelligence" (Bullard 3); this previously undisclosed information is the key, as it were, to novelty.[10] Whether or not surveillance narratives actually reveal anything new is another matter. For the most part, they tend not to offer up any information that was not already public in some form or another.[11] Rather, their particular narratorial contribution is both rhetorical and political. Modern readers familiar with the Wikileaks scandal might recall Slavoj Žižek's contention that "The only surprising thing about the Wikileaks revelations is that they contain no surprises." To Žižek, the information that the Wikileaks papers contain could never be as revelatory or radical as the fact that the papers leaked at all: "What Wikileaks threatens," he contends, "is the formal functioning of power" (n. p.). Both eighteenth- and twenty-first century readers look to surveillance narratives to confirm what they already believe: we could link these readers with modern conspiracy theorists who gather on Internet forums to discuss the latest conspiracy theories about 9/11, fluoridation, and chemtrails. As Žižek's point reminds us, whether there is any truth behind these modern conspiracy narratives is less important than the challenge to existing social and political configurations that they present.

Additionally, we can consider this same impulse in a less extreme form, one that plays on human enjoyment of shared gossip and the sense that one is in the know. A recent study on the organization secrecy of England's Bletchley Park during World War II confirms that secrets construct powerful social bonds. According to Christopher Grey's analysis of Bletchley Park's institutional culture, which famously kept British code-breaking operations secret throughout the war, "the notion of a conscious knowledge of

and identification with a group [which] *saw itself* as an elite" was a crucial reason why employees of Bletchley Park maintained their silence about their work. Long after it was legally acceptable for former employees to discuss their involvement, a social stigma against speaking out still remained, and employees carried "a deeply ingrained and lifelong sense of being part of an inner circle" (116, original italics). If we consider a delight in conspiracies and secrets and in being "in the know," a sociable dimension to surveillance narratives starts to emerge, and it becomes apparent that political secrets and domestic secrets are not so different: conspiracy theories about Warming Pans and lesbian love affairs, for instance, are both bound up in ideological concerns about succession, inheritance, marriage, and sexual behavior, and thus the political is intimately bound up in the domestic and even the mundane.

The novel form depends on surveillance; a key element of surveillance is access, whether to an individual's psychological motivations or to private spaces and dialogues. As predecessors to the novel, secret histories claim to have access to the secret psychological motives of political figures, although of course, these motives depend on the secret historian's own agenda. Furthermore, examples such as these abound in early secret histories, and prefigure the novel in claiming to have access to characters' interior motivations and desires. These narratives are driven by a fascination with what Timothy Melley calls the "covert sphere," which is "a cultural imaginary shaped by both institutional secrecy and public fascination with the secret work of the state" (5). The key concept is secrecy, which is at once a social threat (Spacks 41), a generator of plot, and a means of creating—and protecting—both governmental security and psychological interiority. Secrecy thus creates the conditions from whence narrative emerges. From an

institutional and an individual perspective, fiction plays a vital role in mediating the covert sphere because it allows people the chance to engage with secrets without ramifications. If we can recognize elements of surveillance fiction in the novel, we can also start to pay attention to the way in which surveillance shaped eighteenth-century thought and, particularly, eighteenth-century fiction.

Authors of surveillance narratives often draw their authority from their close relationship to people in power, while representing themselves as socially negligible; usually their class or gender renders them invisible within the narrative itself. Over the course of the seventeenth century, spying as a profession transformed from an elite activity dependent upon noble patronage to a more quotidian form of bureaucratic service. Spy narratives in the late seventeenth century indexed this transition between surveillance on behalf of a government or patron and surveillance of the self. In doing so, they pave the way for eighteenth-century surveillance fiction's interest in—and concern about—the self-regulated and self-surveyed individual interiority separate from, and often wildly contradictory to, the public persona. In many respects, spying aligns with eighteenth-century theories of sociability that attempt to regulate self-presentation and fear deceptive behaviors such as play-acting, flirting, and spying. Eighteenth-century theories of sociability—from Addison and Steele's *The Spectator* (1711-1713) to Bernard Mandeville's *Fable of the Bees* (1714; 1732) to Adam Smith's *Theory of Moral Sentiments* (1759)—thus depend on people's ability to imagine that they are under surveillance. As Patricia Meyer Spacks points out, "[o]ne watches oneself by in effect imagining someone else watching"; the surveillance of others becomes a means by which we can survey ourselves (90). This form of self-surveillance is designed to root out the

moral failing of hypocrisy, and to ensure that everyone presents their authentic self at all times and that this self is a sociably worthy entity; as Spacks acknowledges, "the possibility that people might consciously *make themselves* unknowable threatened the social value of every ritual of manners and morals" (55, original italics). But if authentic self-presentation were easy, or even possible, it would not be a subject for conduct books or a matter of concern for moralists afraid that reading fiction could teach duplicity. Eighteenth-century sociability depends on imagined surveillance precisely *because* in practice, such surveillance is difficult or impossible to enforce.

We can see evidence of the sociability of secrecy in the inaugural example of the form, Prokopius's *Anekdota*. As Bannet notes, "The supposedly novelistic features that literary critics have identified in the best-selling secret histories of a Behn or Manley, such as their focus on amatory and political intrigue, were characteristic of all the secret histories that were modeled on Prokopius" (379).[12] When *Anekdota* was first published in English in 1674, it inaugurated the late seventeenth-century craze for secret histories. *Anekdota* tells of the sexual prurience, decadence, and masochism of the private lives of public people—in this case, the late Roman Emperor Justinian and his wife, Theodora, a former prostitute. Prokopius was Emperor Constantine's official historian, and his histories proclaiming the virtues of Constantine's reign were already widely read. The publication of *Anekdota*, previously lost in the Vatican archives, forced historians to reconsider what they thought they understood about the fifth-century emperor.[13]

The salacious account includes quite a bit of obviously hyperbolic detail, designed to both sexually titillate and disgust readers; Prokopius could not have known for sure, for example, that Theodora so enjoyed lewd sexual acts that "she would impatiently

reproach Nature for not making the holes in her nipples bigger than they were so that she could devise additional sexual positions involving them as well" (42). Moreover, he claims to have access to the secret activities that took place within the court, and also to the private, interior motivations of the key figures. In ruminating on Theodora's supposed lewd appetites, Prokopius makes a political statement about the corruptibility of female rulers and of Constantine's excessive and lascivious court. *Anekdota* thus reveals how Theodora and Justinian let their private vices injure their society, whose ancient laws they were meant to uphold.

*Anekdota* held particular political resonance for people in England under Charles II who had spent much of the past half century at war over what actions an individual had a right to take when subject to tyranny. Elements of Prokopius's narrative bear uncanny resemblance to events of the late seventeenth century, particularly plague, long and expensive wars, rebellion, court factions, and religious strife. Most secret histories from the late seventeenth century looked to Prokopius's example in focusing on the secret lives of powerful people at court because at this point the court was still the ultimate center of social and political authority. Secret histories draw their power from their ability to allow readers, in a sense, to monitor the monarch instead of the other way around. They speak to an underlying anxiety that absolutist government is inherently vulnerability to corruption. The emergent popularity of spy narratives during the unique political moment at the end of the seventeenth century, punctuated by fears of French invasion and paranoia about pervasive Catholic cabals, helped people come to understand themselves as both watchers and watched. The late seventeenth-century political context in England thus played to reading audiences already formed to be receptive to conspiracy theories.

Class, Bureaucracy, and the Conditions of Surveillance Fiction

In order to understand how spying became a profession in late-seventeenth century England, it is important to have some context about the history of spying in early modern Europe. Most modern histories situate the origins of European spycraft situate in the Renaissance. Machiavelli's *The Prince* (1532) dictates a cohesive set of policies designed to preserve the Prince's authority and combat conspiracy; there is little focus on spying itself, but much on how information underpins power. Daniel Szechi reminds us of Phillip Knightley's adage that "if prostitution is the world's oldest profession, then spying is the second oldest" (1). (As I suggest below, the link between spying and prostitution is even stronger; both are illicit, intimate, and transactional undertakings). Szechi contextualizes the history of spycraft across early modern Europe, tracing the dualist nature of early clandestine intelligence networks, in the form of both diplomatic ambassadors and networks of independent agents who reported to the ambassadors and other government ministers (2-3). Szechi contends that the cultivation of these networks meant that in Europe "[t]he sixteenth to eighteenth centuries were thus the heyday of the mercenary spy and secret agent" (4). To that end, Stephen Alford's *The Watchers* details the strong relationship between diplomacy and spying during the Elizabethan period, and the gruesome realities of the spy profession, while Stephen Budiansky's *Her Majesty's Spymaster* treats Sir Francis Walsingham as the prototypical modern spymaster.[14] These works on early modern spies and spymasters show how completely imbricated surveillance was in the political health of England before the seventeenth century.

Contra to early- and mid-twentieth century representations of the English, spy as a lone, albeit deeply patriotic, operative, the relationship between espionage and

bureaucracy cannot be overstated. Geoffrey Smith's and Michael Archer's treatments of spying in the English Civil Wars, Interregnum, and Restoration, discussed in detail in Chapter One, both offer case studies in the development of a bureaucratic system of espionage. Their studies are notable because they demonstrate how closely spying and bureaucracy are imbricated, both logically and ideologically. Spying in Western Europe as a profession emerged out of a systematic network of diplomats and agents who operated at a distant remove from their employers. If bureaucracy usually consists of a series of systems and rules designed to streamline and regulate a series of tasks, it also necessarily implies a lack of attachment of engagement with a central ideology, even if the bureaucracy itself has been set up in service of that ideology. Hence the emergence of the fictional spy who constantly questions, and thus undermines, the system that his mission requires him to reify and reinforce.[15]

The eighteenth century is bracketed by two significant pieces of legislation with regards to the freedom of the press. The expiration of the Licensing Act in 1695 was not, as J. A. Downie has pointed out, a categorical endorsement of freedom of the press; the Licensing Act was allowed to expire because it was meant to be replaced with stronger legislation that more appropriately addressed modern technological developments in printing and distribution (7). In the meantime, authors and publishers who overstepped themselves were set down under the terms of the Seditious Libel Act, and the government economically benefitted from the publishing industry via various Stamp Acts (Powell 18). The Seditious Printing Act of 1799 was that piece of legislation, requiring printing presses to identify themselves by name and to register themselves with the government (8); as Downie notes, "the state's first response to what it perceived to be a serious threat

to the social and political structure of the 1790s was to re-impose controls on the press" (15). While the neither the numerous Jacobite Revolts nor the American Revolution spurred legislation, the government still controlled the press "by invoking the laws of seditious libel, by limiting the role of juries in libel cases; and by the secretary of state's often ruinous administrative harassment of printers, publishers, and writers through arrests, seizures, and fines, or imprisonment" (Bannet, "Secret History" 390). The Licensing Act of 1695 was allowed to lapse until political paranoia in the wake of the French Revolution, which in many ways began as a war of words, called for more stringent and official regulation of the presses.

The larger cultural turn toward interest in conspiracies, political secrets, and spying at the beginning of the eighteenth century can also be explained with a paradox. After the Hanoverian accession—and even during Queen Anne's reign, particularly after the Act of Settlement of 1703—the government was relatively stable, in terms of the previous seventy-five years. The Hanoverians, as Linda Colley points out, may not have been as good looking and glamorous as the Pretender, but "[t]hey were essentially serviceable kings, occupying their office because they catered to the religious bias of the bulk of their subjects, as the Stuarts had so often refused to do" (47). The threat of the Pretenders' return was real, as evidenced by their numerous—and sometimes nearly successful—attempts at leading rebellions, and their pockets of supporters throughout Great Britain. Indeed, when the threat receded almost completely at mid-century after the Jacobite Rebellion of 1745, Great Britain coincidentally began to suffer a crisis of confidence (which also coincided with the Seven Years War), as Colley has also discussed (101-102). However, there was little likelihood that the monarchy would be

toppled, even though infighting ministers raised the specter of rebellion at conveniently hot moments. After a century of Civil Wars, the establishment and end of the Commonwealth, and the Glorious Revolution, the general public was ready for an end to upheaval. However, at moments like these, public imagination tends to feels comfortable indulging in explorative imaginary representations of such upheaval: it can be exciting to indulge in the illusion of danger when such danger is peripheral.[16]

This tension between the relative stability of the Hanoverian accession and the simultaneous threat of rebellion and regime change is at the nexus of the eighteenth-century's longstanding cultural engagement with conspiracies, spies, and secrets that occurs in narrative fiction, as well as in surveillance chronicles and spy narratives. The idea of a threatening other, who exists in the pages of secret histories and yet, in reality, is a faraway, larger-than-life figure with little actual power, can be useful in exposing and delightfully sublimating more pressing social and domestic tensions, especially regarding money, sex, and class. It is not surprising, then, that many secret historians are also authors of narratives featuring (sometimes satirically) spies or behavior associated with intelligence-gathering and conspiracy.[17] Many of these writers, including Edward Ward and Delarivier Manley, launched their literary careers with the publication of secret histories or spy narratives.

## The Economics of Espionage

Surveillance narratives are also bound up with issues of class. Illicit surveillance narratives often feature protagonists reporting on a class of people to which they do not themselves belong, and there is a considerable amount of slippage between classes in later eighteenth-century surveillance fictions. For example, most of Prokopius's

information in *Anekdota* comes from sources who are slaves or servants in the royal household and, as such, were silent witnesses to the sexual liaisons of the emperor's court; I further discuss this key relationship between servants and surveillance in Chapter Two) (7). The relationship between class and money in surveillance fiction is an anxious one, and in this section I will briefly examine how problems of money in early surveillance fictions reveal the social structures that keep certain people powerless (and poor).

In court secret histories of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century, power grabs are often portrayed as motivated by greed and the dignity of imperial office is shattered by the revelation that "few places [are] given, or favours obtain'd, but for money" (*Secret History of One Year* 25). There are few surveillance narratives that do not in some way circle around the question of economics. A subset of surveillance chronicles aligns specific economic concerns with class-based outrage. They tend to be written by shareholders in corrupt companies who turn to narrative as a last resort for restitution. Financial surveillance narratives are dedicated to exposing the financial malfeasance of an established and wealthy person or group. Financial surveillance writings largely represent an attempt on the part of the lower or middling classes to gain recognition and even financial compensation in their straitened economic circumstances.

As a side-effect of the South Sea Bubble, eighteenth-century financiers had a great deal of anxiety about the potential that banks and corporations would not live up to their nascent fiduciary duties; the inner workings of these financial institutions—and particularly their relationship with the monarchy and the Ministry—were cloaked in secrecy. The effects of the disastrous collapse of the South Sea Bubble, moreover, were

not limited to the upper classes; the impact was also absorbed by the middling-sort, both men and women. Financial surveillance chronicles, like modern whistleblowing narratives, attempt to seek public vindication and social restitution, usually because financial restitution is a long way away or entirely unavailable. These narratives are precursors of the subset of corporate and financial conspiracies such as the Enron scandal, which position themselves as populist narratives written on behalf of workers who were extorted by the economic malfeasance of people at the top of the corporate ladder (McClean and Elkind; Eichenwald).[18] Modern narratives about recent financial scandals such as the housing bubble, Enron's collapse, Bernie Madoff's pyramid scheme, and the downfall of RJR Nabisco, are often discussed as conspiracies orchestrated by avaricious masterminds (in the cases of RJR Nabisco and Madoff) or hapless Machiavellian managers with great charisma but little financial savvy. Indeed, one modern scholar has referred to the South Sea Bubble as "George I's Enron" (Karwowski 51).

These narratives have precedence in eighteenth-century surveillance narratives about financial scandal such as Daniel Templeman's *The Secret History of the Directors of the South Sea Company* (1732), which, as Bannet notes "reproduced original letters, memoranda, and accounts to prove that the late directors had defrauded shareholders, as the writer claimed" (393). In another example of the financial secret history, Charles Povey's dedication to *The Secret History of the Sun Fire Office*, a fire insurance company, is a plea to financiers everywhere to acquit themselves honorably: "you are entrusted with the great part of the publick funds and private mens [*sic*] estates, be honest, and divide no more cash as dividends among yourselves than what you can really

claim as your own right and property" (n. p.). Sun Fire actually anticipated Enron in setting up shell companies (called the "Old" and "New" companies) to hold its debts off the books and away from the eyes of shareholders (9-10). Povey concludes by promising a second volume, which will delve into the lives and personalities of the trustees of the Sun Fire Office. Povey does not have the social cache or clout to initiate any other form of recourse against the devious shareholders. Like his counterparts in the secret service who feel they have not been fairly rewarded for their work, writing a whistleblowing pamphlet is his strongest possible recourse.

"Good God!" Povey laments presciently, "What an age do we live in, what will the times be in the next century" (14). He was quite right in assuming that future financial regulations would ensure less transparency between boards and shareholders, not more. His narrative embodies the essential modernity of the economic stratification that resulted from early eighteenth-century financial scandals, many of which resulted in government cover-ups that left shareholders bereft while politicians found convenient scapegoats or otherwise escaped the scandal scot-free. Malcolm Balen further emphasizes the connections between early eighteenth-century scandals and modern financial crises such as the dot-com bubble, stressing effect such schemes had in reifying already-uneasy class divides. While the Bank of England and the East India Company "sharpened the divide between landowners who paid tax and the moneyed men of the city" (15), the lower and middling-classes, many of whom subscribed to government lotteries and invested in South Sea Stock, were also starkly effected by the collapse of such schemes.

The economics of spying in the eighteenth-century also established a preoccupation for future spies—both real and fictional—over the material rewards for his

labor. The eighteenth-century spy set a precedent for his later counterparts in cataloguing the mundanities of a life in secret service, railing against the petty politics, expenses, and bureaucratic indignities.[19] The spy tends to be obsessed with the state of his money, deeply committed to tallying and categorizing the costs of service. Above all, the modern spy recognizes what his eighteenth-century predecessors sought to prove: that spying is labor; it may be patriotically motivated (James Bond) or deeply self-interested (Sterling Archer), but it is work and work deserves compensation.

Some two centuries after Aphra Behn's underfunded trip to Holland, James Bond walks us through the life of his Baccarat bankroll in *Casino Royale* (1953) and Jason Bourne offers "a precise accounting of Bourne's tips and payments: how much for a couturier dress, how much for a taxi, how much for a telephone call" (Hepburn 6). Sterling Archer fusses about "hav[ing] to break into ISIS headquarters in a nine hundred dollar turtleneck" ("Mole Hunt").[20] In continuing to pay dues at his London club (the Reform Club; founded 1836) after defecting to Moscow, KGB mole Guy Burgess demonstrated his enduring ideological commitment to what he thought was the essence of Englishness. His England, like eighteenth-century England, was a land where one's social club could be an integral part of one's identity, indeed, was a more important aspect of one's social identity than the minor matter of treason. Burgess's political beliefs never ultimately trumped the cultural and aesthetic influence of his upbringing within the rigidly stratified British class system (Thomas n. p.). Through these rhetorical, economic, and social gestures such as these—the bankroll, the turtleneck, the club, the spy sets his taste—and thus his intelligence—apart and thus exists in a class of his own.

Women, Sex, and Surveillance

This section considers how women are portrayed in eighteenth-century surveillance narratives, and how these portrayals are bound up with people's fears about class slippage and authors' tendencies to portray women as naturally duplicitous and prone to slippery acts of surveillance, and, in doing so, align them with absolutist regimes' supernatural and tyrannical acts of surveillance. From the seventeenth-century onwards, surveillance narratives preoccupied with questions of absolutism and tyranny have tended to portray women as uber-tyrants who exercise power over the absolute monarch both sexually and politically. As Bullard reminds us, late-seventeenth century secret histories respond to the threat of absolutism made manifest in French political and social reality[21] (1). It is important to note, however, that many secret histories seem to delight in the subversive behavior of social-climbing women, even as they portray these women as having unprecedented and dangerous amounts of power over supposedly absolutist leaders.

This trend initially manifests prominent in secret histories surrounding the reigns of Charles II, as Bullard and Bannet have both discussed in depth, and Louis XIV, although secret histories of the court of Queen Anne also continue the tradition of depicting both individual women (Sarah Marlborough and Abigail Masham were particular favorite targets, depending on the author's political affiliations, but Queen Anne did not escape critique) and female "cabals"—coteries of women who share information amongst themselves.[22]. Charles and Louis's many mistresses made them excellent targets for sexually salacious scandal fictions, and also made their mistresses objects of public fascination. Of course, there are significant links between selling sex

and selling information: both spies and prostitutes engage in labor that depends on their pretending that they are not, as it were, laboring. Their work is contingent upon its own erasure. Additionally, women are seen as uniquely endowed with the ability to translate sexual favors into information.

Most narratives about royal mistresses emphasize that the mistress has come from a class background that would normally disqualify her from association with the court, but her personal qualities—usually a combination of beauty, exquisite manners, and sexual prowess—allow her to social-climb her way into the King's bedchamber. For example, *The Secret History of the Duchess of Portsmouth* (1690), a narrative of Louise de Kéroualle's influence over Charles II, is exemplary of such secret histories because of its emphasis on how Kéroualle's upbringing and early sexual and political experiences eventually brought to such a prominent position power over a monarch. Bannet contends that "the narrative as a whole is constructed in such a way as to ground it plausibly in the character and motives of the personalities involved" (381). The Duchess ("Francelia") displaces some of the anger Charles's subjects might feel towards him for his political mismanagement, but her character is also explained in terms familiar to readers of romance: it is hard to blame Charles for falling under the influence of someone "allay'd with such a portion of subtle policy and craftiness, which made a very agreeable mixture in her conversation, because she would very frequently surprise people with her repartees, which were the more taken notice of for coming from so airy a person" (6). Her craftiness and ambition, coupled with her "airy" person and recently "matured" body are a dangerous combination for men and women alike, and indeed, Francelia is sent away from home initially because her parents "find[] it a business of no small difficulty to

govern her" (7). Although *The Secret History of the Duchess of Portsmouth* portrays Francelia as an ambitious tyrant and Charles II as a bit of a hapless fool, the narrative is notable for its interest in Francelia's motivations. Moreover, Francelia is allowed the privilege of being the most interesting person in the story.

Other secret histories from this period also delight in giving women subversive forms of agency. *The Cabinet Open'd, or the Secret History of the Amours of Madame de Maintenon* (1690) details the affair between said Madame, the daughter of the owner of a tobacco plantation in Martinique and a lascivious woman whose boat of likeminded just ladies happened to blow ashore (3-5), with Louis XIV. Madame de Maintenon, it is implied, is genetically predisposed to licentiousness: her mother was one of a group of women who "sacrificed their bodies for some time to the goddess of pleasure, and performed all acts of charity to those who begged it at their hands" (3). Madame's American heritage also contributes to her innate ambition and precocious maturity: children in America, "through the peculiar nature of the climate, or the temperature of the country," tend to learn to walk before the age of one (5). Left alone in Europe after the death of her godmother when she is fifteen, Madame de Maintenon (she is given no other name) is torn between the affections of an "amorous villager" (8) who had his eye on her while her godmother was alive (9) and those of a "lusty, two-handed labourer" (11). The narrator sympathizes with her predicament, sagely noting that a marriage to the villager "had not been the first marriage in ten thousand, that necessity has occasioned; for one suffers himself to tumble down a precipice, 'tis twenty to one, unless the Devil's in him, but that he'l [*sic*] lay hold of the next thing he meets to save his bacon" (13-14). A noblewoman rescues Madame from between a rock and hard place by giving her a place

in her household (15). While Madame is portrayed as "careless," "unconcerned," (17) and "full of vanity" (16) in her new position, her erstwhile suitor comes off much the worse, as he alternately rails against her for scorning him and begs her to marry him (17). A reader could hardly be blamed for cheering her on.

Like *The Turkish Spy*'s Mahmut, the Earl of Clarendon associates women with a host of undesirable political traits, and particularly with a strong desire to have, and an unskilled inability to keep, secrets because of what he sees as their tendency towards emotional excess.[23] Clarendon conveniently traces England's decline to Queen Elizabeth's reign, subtly blaming Elizabeth I for fomenting the seeds of rebellion during her reign, particularly in committing regicide by killing her cousin Mary Stuart. In doing so, he suggests that England owes the unrest that led to the Civil Wars to some of Elizabeth's unwise and emotionally-driven policies (16). He also faults Henrietta Maria for using her power over the king in "open and visible" ways in order to promote her favorites at court (37). Although he seems to critique Henrietta Maria's decisions on grounds of policy, his derision is usually coupled with some reference to her "power," and particularly her brashness in making her machinations and manipulations obvious. As I discuss further in Chapter One, Clarendon was a great believer in preserving authority in the form of the state's mystique; his deep dislike of Henrietta Maria seems to link her femininity with his perception of her as a gullible and heavy-handed politician, rather than an adept minister of state (such as himself). If she were a better ruler, he implies, she would have been more effective in hiding her behind-the-scenes dealings. Clarendon suggests that women should be *more* duplicitous, not less, and thus tends to compare them unfavorably with men who are better at perpetuating duplicity and thus preserving the mystique of their

power. Later spy narratives differ from Clarendon's account in their tendency to assume women are already dangerously adept at duplicity. The role of gender in surveillance fiction shifted considerably throughout the eighteenth century, as writers represent women variously as repositories of exclusive information, as uncontrollable progenitors of contagious misinformation, and as figures sympathetic to male spy's conflicting dual identity.[24]

The Turkish Spy has a more complicated relationship with women. On the one hand, he often cites women's behavior as a metaphor for social and political ills, and on the other he identifies with the way in which women's inferior social standing and lack of political representation necessitates that they seek alternative, covert forms of power. Mahmut seems to view women as simultaneously enemies and allies, as evidenced by a letter to a friend upon his arrival in Paris:

> I have not as yet any acquaintance with the women; and yet it is necessary I find means to introduce myself into their companies. It is a sex that will not pardon, when they think themselves neglected. They are proper to discover things one would know, and to say them when one would have them publish'd; and likewise, they as much penetrate into the secrets of hearts, as the most refined and spiritualest courtiers: further, there are many of them that can conceal nothing, but what they do not know. (I.15)

The companionship of women is "necessary," it seems, to Mahmut's work, because women have skills that allow them to "penetrate" into people's deepest secrets. At the same time, it is also prudent that Mahmut make their acquaintance early because the women of Paris are likely to feel slighted if they think he thinks their friendship

unimportant, and to slight them is to risk losing their support and even perhaps exposure. Moreover, Mahmut implies that he will able to get information from women without their even knowing it because women are just as incapable of keeping secrets as they are inherently gifted at discovering them.

Women in *The Turkish Spy* are represented as both deeply unreliable and uncannily wise; this depiction is conversant with a category of Eastern tale known as "the wiles of women" narrative that John Perry and Manushag Powell have both engaged with in relation to the talking parrot stories from India and Persia that influenced later British fiction and periodicals such as Haywood's *The Parrot*. "Wiles of women" stories depict multiple, conflicting aspects of female nature: women are potentially promiscuous, overly talkative, and also capable of savvily outwitting their male counterparts. Women, like parrots, are double-edged swords: they contain vast stores information, but are prone to giving away that information easily. They can be good friends, but also make dangerous enemies. Mahmut considers Eastern women in a separate category from Western women because, as Ballaster points out, he identifies with Eastern women, who live behind veils (*Fables of the East* 6). In doing so, he deflects his own fears about his split subjectivity onto women. Like the "wiles of women" narratives that influenced Mahmut, the political secret histories and spy narratives of the 1690s and the court of Queen Anne are marked by the idea that it was possible to be two people at once and that it was necessary to present one version of the self to the public and another in private. Women are thus particular objects of suspicion in eighteenth-century narrative because of their perceived adeptness at hiding their true selves. At the same time, rules of etiquette—and indeed, women's very survival—depended on this ability.

Mahmut's opinion of women also fluctuates depending on their class. The general category of Western women garners sneering remarks, but he singles out individual noblewomen for praise. For instance, when Mahmut writes to the Sultan to inform him of the birth of the dauphin, he says, "I have a Piece of News to tell thee; but receive it as coming from a Woman, not Mahmut" (I.65), implying that his information could turn out to be specious. He speaks highly, however, of Queen Christina of Sweden, and he pays oblique homage to Queen Elizabeth when he remarks that, "Since the Loss of the Armado [sic]…which Philip II Sent into England, in the Year 1588, to make War upon a Woman, we have not know that Spain suffer'd so great a loss" (I.56). He describes the Duchess of Savoy, who has just lost her son and husband as "worthy of compassion" (I.85) and as "a Woman of Courage and Resolution" (I.86). Mahmut does not consider all Western women in the same light, but values rank and courage in individual instances in the same way that classical historians occasionally emphasize the valor or beauty of particular women.

Daniel Defoe's work as a spy on behalf of Robert Harley, who bailed him out of debtor's prison, attests to this contingent relationship between economics, spying, and gender, by tying personal and national fiscal crises together in *Roxana* (1724). Written just a few years after the South Sea Bubble collapse, *Roxana* portrays a society wherein access to certain networks of information and the ability to appeal to the right people sexually are an integral part of a woman's basic survival. In *Roxana*, as Christina Healey has noted, "systems of social surveillance range from the gossips on the streets of Paris to the courtiers in London ballrooms" (495). Roxana's survival is often determined by her ability to survey, sometimes through the eyes of her trusted spy Amy, an economically

devastated world in which information is everything, and information is gained through surveillance, sex, and money. Amy is in many ways a stand-in and a double for Roxana herself, carrying out tasks on Roxana's behalf and even standing in for her sexually; she is all at once an expression of Roxana's private selfhood, her spy, and her prostitute. Privy to all of Roxana's secrets, Amy is able to take action on her behalf when Roxana herself is reluctant. Because of her position as Roxana's servant, Amy is able to navigate the streets of London undetected; her lower-class position means that she is capable of going places that Roxana is not. As a servant, she is rendered invisible and thus her class position makes her privy to a wide swathe of information that her mistress cannot access.

Women's secrecy, concealment, and surveillance are also signal aspects of eighteenth-century domestic fiction. Haywood continues the tradition of women as informed political insiders in *The Female Spectator* (1744-1746), while domestic novels about women-led communities such as Sarah Scott's *Millenium Hall* (1762) use a similar format to suggest that women have unique access to information about one another. We can detect remnants of the idea of the cabal throughout the eighteenth-century novel, for example, in Richardson's *Clarissa* (1748) when Anna Howe airily proposes that Clarissa come to live with her because "How charmingly might you and I live together and despise them all!" (105). As Ballaster argues, Richardson's *Pamela*, widely considered a prototype for both later domestic fiction and the novel form, owes an "overt debt to the *Turkish Spy* in terms of the heroine's struggle to keep her correspondence secret, its interception, manipulation, and incendiary effects" (*Oriental Fictions* 9). Surveillance narratives particularly associate corruption with female influence in politics, an association that continues in modern spy narratives' representations of *femmes fatales*;

Fleming's conflicted, scheming Vesper Lynd would fit right in to Prokopius's *Anekdota* or the scandalous court secret histories of the late seventeenth century.

Spying and Paranoia

Narratives by and about spies both raised the possibility of their presence and contained such a possibility safely within the realm of the imagination. As Jonathan Kramnick notes, curiosity is a critical function of plot in the novel, which "often means bringing within its purview whole new areas of experience to be observed—hence the tendency of the genre, to this day, to be populated by spies, travellers, and private eyes" (180). However, spies in literature also tend to reflect the neuroses of their societies, and to be self-conscious of themselves *as* spies. According to Ballaster, this self-consciousness is a form of paranoia for the spy-authors, whose "'gaze' is consistently undermined by his terror of discovery; from being the one who looks, he may become the one who is looked at and exposed." (7) Just as Powell points out that periodical eidolons often demonstrated "a sense of moral and physical paranoia," (*Performing Authorship* 19) spy figures such as Marana and Bampfield feel they are always watched even as—and because—they themselves watch. Haywood's domestic spy narratives show family members spying on one another, and even lighthearted scandal fictions demonstrate that surveillance is a closed circuit of watchers reporting on other watchers. Rabb also raises an important point about how secret histories and satires create in the reader "[a] compulsion to find meanings everywhere, to perceive secret plots and conspiracies, to merge feelings of narcissism and persecution, and to regard patriarchal masculinity (and sexuality identity) with anxiety." Just as curiosity is integral to the novel, surveillance narratives operate under the "enabling interpretive strategy" of paranoia (178): we can

view curiosity and paranoia as two forms of surveillance that drive a considerable amount of eighteenth-century narratives.

The eighteenth-century spy shares this feeling of alienation and paranoia with his and her twenty-first century counterparts. It is useful, for instance, to consider the Restoration-era spy Joseph Bampfield alongside Robert Ludlum's contemporary Jason Bourne. Both spies at points embody the terrified alienation of the dispossessed agent attempting to come to grips with his life of service, aware that his actions have created a ripple effect that exceeds his intentions and his control. Both are the products of an ideology of surveillance invested in obtaining information, but not in controlling the consequences of that information; as such they "live at a distance from conviction and keep testing allegiances" (Hepburn 6). Eighteenth-century scholars might find this comparison particularly useful in the classroom; there is also political merit in recognizing some of the patterns of absolutist surveillance within fiction that our current age seems to be repeating in reality.

## Conclusion

This dissertation analyzes fictional representations of both political and social surveillance throughout the eighteenth century, mediated through the figure of the spy who begins to appear prominently in fictions and biographical life writings at the end of the seventeenth century. In indexing spying's transition within the cultural and literary imagination from a profession to a way of being, I examine how the idea of spying expanded from a narrow political activity within the framework of absolutist government to involve surveillance of both the self and other people.

My treatment considers the highly contingent association between women and surveillance and the spy's often uneasy and sometimes downright paranoid feelings about his own social and economic position as both surveyor and surveyed subject. Through careful analysis of a variety of surveillance fictions, including spy narratives of the English Civil Wars; competing representations of surveillance in urban spy narratives by periodicalists such as Joseph Addison, Richard Steele, and Daniel Defoe; and surveillance fiction's eventual fruition in the later eighteenth-century within the domestic novel and gothic fiction, I argue for a new understanding of the centrality of surveillance to eighteenth-century narrative.

Chapter Summaries

This project proposes to trace the journey from imaginative narratives by and about political spies beginning at the end of the seventeenth century with the rise of the spy figure in fiction, to accounts of social spies such as the London Spy and Mr. Spectator in the early eighteenth-century, and to mid-eighteenth-century domestic and scandal fictions that depend on individual surveillance. I conclude by discussing the role of surveillance in the Gothic novel toward the end of the eighteenth century.

*Joseph Bampfield's Apology* and Matthew Smith's *Memoirs of Secret Service*, the early spy narratives examined in Chapter One, make the contingent economics of spying obvious by demonstrating how spies are forced to negotiate for money and space in which to work and also how their safety and mobility are directly dependent upon their ability to pay their debts. Bampfield and Smith also take their cues from *The Turkish Spy* in displaying varying degrees of paranoia about their roles as double agents. Their narratives consist of almost constant renegotiations of identity, reminders to their readers

of their personal loyalties, and pleas that their stories be recognized by authority figures with the power to rescue them from penury and obscurity. This chapter engages particularly with the proto-narratives that may have directly or inadvertently inspired Bampfield and Smith, particularly *The Turkish Spy* and the Earl of Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England.* Mahmut's s, which sheds light on the inner workings of Louis XIV's French absolutist court, might have seemed exotic and fascinatingly alien to English readers, but Bampfield's and Smith's narratives bring their paranoia about the state of their government home to roost.

In Chapter Two, I will ask how Bampfield's and Smith's accounts both inform and, to an extent, generate, the figure of the urban spy who became popular around the turn of the century in Edward Ward's *The London Spy* (1702-1704). The urban spy is markedly different from Bampfield's and Smith's beleaguered portrayals; nevertheless, he is a political and politicized spectator—a descendant of Bampfield and Smith's political personas and a precursor to Addison and Steele's sociable spy, the refined Mr. Spectator—who seems at once to mock the over-earnestness of political spy narratives and to draw inspiration from their accounts of adventure, treachery, and danger.

Here I also consider the radical commonalities between service work and sex work and domestic spycraft. Kristina Straub's work on the social history of domestic labor in the eighteenth century is directly related to the same concerns about privacy and autonomy that generate surveillance narratives. Like any spy worth his salt, a prostitute can pretend to be a fine lady, and a poor Irishman can masquerade as a wealthy peer. Moreover, Ward suggests that the two may conspire.[25] Spies, like domestic servants, often take on a "contingent, shifting, but ubiquitous presence [that] may have contributed

to the eighteenth century's more fluid notions of identity" (Straub 4). Like the servant's, the spy's loyalty to his employer is often related to money in complicated ways that usually have to do with his position as a social and economic interloper. It is exceedingly rare to come across narratives by spies who are from an equal or higher social or economic class as the people they survey; usually spies are reporting on their social and economic superiors. Access to capital does not necessarily allow spies to transcend class these distinctions, but it does place spies in a position where class distinctions no longer matter so much: that is, money provides access because it can buy the appearance of class. As Balen points out, the distinction between moneyed social status and aristocratic social status in the early eighteenth century was already under a great deal of pressure due to the watershed emergence of new schemes for raising capital, and the spy takes full advantage of this moment of flux, usually to attempt to climb the social ladder (15).

In Chapter Three, I examine two mid-century surveillance chronicles that present remarkably different takes on the impact that male surveillance can have over female interiority. The relationship between surveillance and space in the eighteenth century is not only of interest with regards to the urban spy's perambulations. As Bannet has noted, surveillance chronicles portray interiors spaces as metonymically reflective of the relationship between power and secrecy (393-395). As one progresses through throne rooms and council rooms to bedchambers and closets, and even into cabinets and *secretories*, a fuller picture of the driving force behind power emerges. Privacy is political, of course: who has privacy and how they get it has everything to do with their gender, social status, and economic position. Not only does access to privacy depend on status but self-mystification is also a necessary aspect of surveillance. In order to

maintain the power that comes with privacy, those who have it must also make it look like such power is the natural result of divine right, and not of power and privilege. Eliza Haywood's *Bath Intrigues* (1725) is an illustration of what it looks like when this network of causality between information and power fails: the spy-narrator tries to conduct himself as an impartial Mr. Spectator, but finds himself caught up in sexual and social intrigues of his own as a result of his surveillance. *The Forced Virgin* (1730), by "Lysander," tells a similar s of men spying on a woman with much darker results. *Bath Intrigues* and *The Forced Virgin* pre-figure popular mid-eighteenth-century narratives about a woman's proper relationship to power and domestic space. Both texts use interior spaces as metonyms for the female body, and *The Forced Virgin* goes so far as to equate the heroine's traumatized mind with otherworldly buildings and landscapes in a way that prefigures late eighteenth-century female Gothic narratives.

Chapter Four expands the purview of surveillance fiction to the mid-century domestic novel and late-century Gothic fiction. I begin with an analysis of how class and gender inform and interrupt surveillance in Richardson's *Pamela*, suggesting that surveillance in *Pamela* interrogates the coercive social structures that force women into acts of duplicity for the sake of their survival. In the second part of Chapter Four, I relate early spy narratives' obsessive interest in the idea of immensely powerful, yet invisible, social and political conspiracies to the Gothic novel's prevailing interest in linking tyranny with sexual and financial depravity. I begin with a discussion of the Irish Gothic in Maria Edgeworth's *Castle Rackrent* (1800), which uses Gothic tropes of family secrets and supernatural influences to draw attention to the stark difference between the Rackrent family's public stature and their private behavior. Finally, I focus on particularly Sophia

Lee's Gothic novel *The Recess* (1783-1785), a compelling re-imagining of Elizabethan court politics based on arguably Jacobite early eighteenth-century readings of Mary Stuart's tragic erasure from history. I argue that the act of looking is, for the women in *The Recess*, a way of asserting their social, political, and individual selfhood; however, by the end of the novel the gaze has also proven a destabilizing and destructive force that demonstrates the limits of surveillance.

# Notes

[1] Bannet points out that some "works were written as secret history and published as history," which indicates that that the term "secret history" itself is inherently fluid (376).

[2] The Gothic novel raises the question of the uncanny, which is intimately tied to the paranoia experienced by authors of early spy narratives. Furthermore, as Alan Hepburn points out, the uncanny can also "yoke personal psychology with political affiliation" (81); while Hepburn refers to Joseph Conrad's *Under Western Eyes*, I see a particular link to the paranoia of stateless early modern double agents such as Mahmut and Bampfield.

[3] In *Seductive Forms: Women's Amatory Fiction from 1684 to 1740* (1992), Ballaster delineates the influence of French scandal chronicles such as Roger de Rabutin, Count de Bussy's *Histoire Amoureuse des Gaules* (1665) and the epistolary travel narrative *Lettres Portugaises* (1669) on the development of early eighteenth-century British narratives. Other scholars of secret histories have also argued for this transnational connection and contend that English readers often did not separate the romantic form of the *chronique scandaleuse* from the historical veracity that secret histories so often claim. Mayer cites French scandal chronicles as the origin of *Memoirs of Count Grammont* (1714), noting that, "while the French by and large have read the *Memoirs* as fiction, the English have read the work as history," a reading Hamilton (himself a transnational figure) encourages in his preface (108-109).

[4]Aravamudan's point that the relationship among secret histories, spies, and nationhood is often unstable and shifting is illustrated by *The Turkish Spy*'s complicated publication and translation history. The first edition contained 30 letters and was first printed in Italian (as

*L'esploratore turco*) and French (as *L'espion du Turc*) in 1684. Additional volumes were added in French, taking the total number of letters to 102 by 1687, and these were then translated to the English. After the first volume of 30 letters, none of letters were originally printed in Italian (Aksan 202) and furthermore, as Lee points out in "The Authorship of *Letters Writ By a Turkish Spy*," the first English edition claims to be translated from Arabic into Italian (351). After these 102 volumes, additional volumes were added in English, taking the total number of letters to 632: these were subsequently translated into French.

The extended text is also haunted by questions of authorship, as Aksan has discussed, although McBurney believes the text to be indisputably Marana's and based off a missing Italian manuscript (928). Giovanni Paolo Marana (sometimes called Jean Paul Marana) was an Italian in Louis XIV's court. Many of Mahmut's experiences with the French court and Parisian life are probably based on Marana's reflections. The French publications continued thereafter, so that by 1697, there were eight volumes of 632 letters, but the authorship of these additional 532 letters remains disputed (202). In Manley's *Rivella*, she claims her father authored one of the volumes; her contention is also referenced in Boswell's *Life of Johnson* (McBurney 925). Katherine Zelinsky, the modern editor of *Rivella*, notes that Manley may have confused *The Turkish Spy* with *The Turkish History* (52, note 1, citing Fidelis Morgan). C. D. Lee notes that the publisher to whom Manley refers—"an ingenious physician, related to the family by marriage…[who] continued the work until the eighth volume, without ever having the justice to name the author of the first" (51-52) was Dr. Robert Midgeley, a financially-beleaguered Licenser,

doctor, and family friend of the Manleys, who claimed to have written the whole work; he is listed as the editor of the first volume, which was translated by William Bradshaw (see Lee for biographies of both).

[5] *The Turkish Spy* also provides useful examples about the conflict between antiquarian and imaginative ways of doing history in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Throughout *The Turkish Spy*, Mahmut interprets current political events through the lens of ancient histories and the philosophical writings of Seneca, Plutarch, Livy, Diogenes, and Tacitus, which help him "forget the odious Name of Master and Slave" (49). He does not only rely on ancient histories, but also on more contemporary fictions, including Francis Godwin's *The Man in the Moone or A Discourse of a Voyage Thither* (1638), and Eastern texts such as the *Holy Quran*. When a friend asks him for an instructional historical narrative, Marana takes the opportunity to write a history of his own: he tells the life s of King Henry the Great (Henri IV) and interweaves mythical elements (Henry's mother didn't cry out during his birth and her breast milk was ambrosia; he was "bred up like Cryus; spending his first Days in Woods, and oftentimes in the Company of Shepherds" [I.113]) with his (Henry's assassination in his coach by Francois Ravaillac [I.119-120]). Mahmut's s, couched in both fact and legend, represents his attempt to reconcile the competing impulses behind historical writing about "Great Men" and the clash between classical and modern ways of doing history.

[6] Similarly, secret histories also destabilize the idea of a “national” literature because “novels written in English or French with foreign content become members of a proprietary national class only retroactively” (41).

[7] In another exemplary text, *Memoirs of the Bashaw Count Bonneval* (1737), the narrator claims that the Bashaw's interior self was radically divided from his exterior representation: people who didn't know him well detested his vices, but those who glimpsed his interiority saw the virtues within (ix). In Eastern-inflected spy narratives, this split self emerges when the spy is stranded in a strange land without contact with his home culture.

[8] The informant narrator who "puts the West on display to his correspondents 'back home'" **is** a defining feature of the oriental tale that reverberates in Western literature (Ballaster, *Fabulous Orients* 149).

[9] Fictions of the East, Ros Ballaster suggests, reveal "the state as organized around the blind and self-interested whim of a single man, apparently all-seeing and all-powerful but in fact an 'absent center,' a symbolic presence/phallus rather than a genuine expansive authority" ("Narrative Transmigrations" 78). This dispersal of power away from a central figure is a preoccupation in both secret histories and spy narratives: Eve Tavor Bannet in particular contends that early British surveillance narratives publicized the court's corruption and, in doing so, gave citizens a window into the fallibility of sovereignty ("Secret History" 396).

[10] As J. P. Hunter notes, many early secret historians including Ward, Charles Gildon, Cibber, Dunton, and Defoe are implicated in Book III of Pope's *Dunciad* "largely due to what the Augustan keepers of tradition perceived as their rebellion against established tradition and their devotion to the cult of novelty" (16).

[11] Bullard points out a couple of notable exceptions, including Andrew Marvell's *Account of the Growth of Popery and Arbitrary Government* (1679) and Jonathan Swift's *Conduct of the Allies* (1711) (9-10).

[12] Bannet reminds readers, for instance, that *The Secret History of Queen Zarah and the Zarazians* (which Bannet, Backscheider, and Richetti attribute to Manley, although Rachel Carnell disputes this attribution in *A Political Biography of Delarivier Manley* [4]) was re-titled as *A Secret History Faithfully Handed Down from a Committee of Safety to a Committee of Secrecy* and was published in Joseph Browne's *State Tracts: Containing Many Necessary Observations on the State of our Affairs at Home and Abroad* (1715) (383).

[13] It should be noted that these lascivious details were censored from earlier Latin editions of *Anekdota*, so they really were entirely new pieces of information even for people who might have read previously published versions of *Anekdota* (Bullard 30).

[14] Tangentially, Park Honan details Christopher Marlowe's involvement as one of Walsingham's Cambridge recruits to the Queen's Council in the 1580s, and discusses Marlowe's dip in spying's "murky, acid sea" (122). Marlowe's spying is often brought up as an interesting anecdote in the context of his career as a playwright, but it is more fruitful to think of him as the first in a long line of disaffected spies particularly associated with Cambridge University.

[15] More localized studies of the bureaucracy of espionage include Paul S. Fritz's "The Anti-Jacobite Intelligence System of the English Ministers, 1711-1745," as well as studies of individual spies such as Chevalier D'Eon (Conlin), Daniel Defoe (Max Novak's

"The Sum of Humane Misery" and *Daniel Defoe, Master of Fictions*), and Joseph Bampfield (*Joseph Bampfield's Apology*). Thus, David Vincent's *The Culture of Secrecy*, with its focus on the development of early nineteenth-century laws regarding government surveillance of that most bureaucratic of all agencies, the postal service, can be contextualized against these accounts of the earlier development of spying in Europe, and particularly Britain.

[16] David Brewer has suggested that this sense of security originated around the 1720s, as the upheavals of the last few decades began to fade from memory, as did the remembrance of the Stuart monarchs:

> In the later seventeenth century and into the very first decades of the eighteenth century, authorship was still largely regarded as an inherently political act. Both authors and readers were presumed to be participants in the rage of parties and so the ways in which a text could be read depended largely upon a reader's stance towards its (and its author's) inferred politics…The habits of reading which decades of partisan squabbling (and several dramatic changes and attempted changes in government) had engendered were still current in the 1720s, but the impact of learning about the secret affairs of backstairs influence peddling of ministers seemed less of a life-and-death affair and more of game than it had, say, forty years previous in the Exclusion Crisis (22).

[17] These include John Dunton's *The Athenian Spy* (1704), and *The Hanover Spy* (1725), which supplement his historical secret histories, such as the satirical *Neck or Nothing: The History of Queen Robin* (1715) and *King Abigail: The Secret Reign of the She-*

*Favorite* (1717). Charles Gildon's *The Golden Spy*, a transnational it-narrative inspired by both *The Turkish Spy* and Galland's *Arabian Nights Entertainments*, and *The History of the Athenian Society* (1692) are both sardonic glimpses into secret societies.

[18] A corporate whistleblower is a code word for modern-day spies who are not necessarily associated with government agencies, but allegedly acting on behalf of people who have financial, rather than a personal or political, stake in a company. Modern narratives about corporate espionage form secret histories of their own: not only do they examine the powerful personalities behind financial scandals, but journalistic narratives based on inside information about corporations, such as *Barbarians at the Gate* and *The Smartest Guys in the Room*, often go to painstaking lengths to recount events as they unfolded, and use novelistic details and devices such as interior dialogue. Many include public documents such as company mission statements and policies, as well as private ones that have come to light through investigation.

[19] Twenty-first century readers, themselves accustomed to navigating miles of proverbial red tape, still tend to appreciate accounts of the banalities of secret service. John Le Carré continues to pepper his contemporary spy novels with accounts of the contrast between the glamorous idea of a life in secret service and its mundane realities.

[20] This impulse towards materialism is also rooted in the consumer-readers' presumed interest in the consumption of novelty goods.

[21] Many late seventeenth century English secret histories are concerned with the possibility of conspiracy between the French and English monarchs, usually at the behest of a manipulative female. *The Secret History of the Duchess of Portsmouth* was translated

into English from the French in 1690, and went through two printings. Others include *The Secret History of K. James I and K. Charles I* (1690; 4 printings) and *The Secret History of Whitehall* (1697).

[22] McKeon points out that these cabals have their roots in French scandal fiction and feminist treatises such as Mary Astell's *A Serious Proposal to the Ladies* (1696) (828, note 15).

[23] Tacitus was a guide for many historiographers of this period because he claimed authority through his personal proximity to events. In his own histories, he tended to see women in positions of power as potential tyrants; Clarendon modeled his *History of the Rebellion* on Tacitus's *Annals*, and the Tacitean form gave Clarendon a convenient outlet for his hatred for Queen Henrietta Maria (Bullard 17).

[24] By the mid-eighteenth century, perhaps as a result of the popularity of Richardson's *Pamela* (1740) and *Clarissa* (1748), secret histories consisted mainly of ama fictions masquerading as conduct manuals.[24] For instance, *The Nominal Husband, or Distress'd Innocence: A True Secret History, Taken from an Old Saxon Manuscript* (1750), announces that the s of the tyrannical libertine Boscus's marriage to the unfortunate Guideria will show virtue and vice in their true form for the reader's edification (vi), a mission statement that mirror's *Pamela*'s claim to "paint Vice in its proper Colours, to make it deservedly Odious; and to set Virtue in its own amiable Light, to make it truly Lovely" (3). *Pamela* is presented as a narrative that can educate young women about the dangers of bad conduct and the rewards of "virtue," and this claim seems to have replaced that of veracity as a justification for narrative in later secret histories.

[25] According to Straub, a defining feature of the connectivity of urban life is that "in town, growing numbers of domestics could communicate with each other more easily than in the country" (7).

# CHAPTER ONE: ON THEIR MAJESTIES' SECRET SERVICE: THE SECRET HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH SPY IN THE LATE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

This chapter paves the way for my study of surveillance fiction throughout the eighteenth century by suggesting that the spy figure had its genesis in real-life accounts. These real-life accounts set the stakes for surveillance fiction in the century to come in their depiction of spying as a window to the secrets of the powerful elite, which also results in financial penury and existential crisis for the spy. Here I examine the relationship between secret histories and spy narratives through two authors' stormy relationships with their patrons, their money, and their missions: Joseph Bampfield's *Apology* (1685) and Matthew Smith's *Memoirs of Secret Service* (1700). Both index their authors' conflicted, often paranoid, perceptions of their roles as double agents. These autobiographical narratives, which process the tumultuous political events of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century, are both products of and generative of the long eighteenth-century's preoccupation with conspiracy and surveillance. As the figure of the spy is implicated in secret histories' concerns with representing alternative versions of history and with the demystification of authority, this chapter in a sense constructs its own form of secret history.

These life writings, I contend, conspire with the secret history's impulse to reveal hidden networks of power. Moreover, they are a testament to the psychological impact that spying has upon the spy. I argue that the spy's own subjectivity is at times divided

because of his experiences in pretending to be someone he is not, in interacting with people outside of—and usually far above—his social class, and in contending with the ways in which the information he provides is often misinterpreted and misused.[1] Like secret historians, spy narrators reveal a world of corruption; however, the spy narrators under discussion in this chapter feel the effects of this corruption far more directly and explicitly than most authors of secret histories, who tend to speak from an impersonal perspective in order to ensure their audiences of the veracity of their information.

The idea of the citizen spy, plucked from the ranks of ordinary people rather than the elite, caught on in the spy narratives of the late seventeenth century and was hugely influential in creating a strain of surveillance in fiction that continued throughout the eighteenth century. While fictional eastern spies left an indelible imprint on surveillance narratives, the seventeenth century also brought the idea of the spy into the English imagination in the form of real-life political figures, such as John Thurloe, Cromwell's Secretary of State, Postmaster General, and spymaster. The desire for detailed authenticity rather than sweeping epic in life writing speaks to the fact that the entire population of England had been directly affected by the Civil Wars and was therefore responsive to narratives that spoke to the experience of the "anarchy, usurpation, and tyranny; which begun, was nourished, and ended in blood: as the whole world had been witness of" (Bampfield 14). Thus, the ideal historical narrative in the late seventeenth century was characterized by the author's proximity to events, rather than the "majestic, authoritative narrative" favored by classical historians (Hicks 1). Although they claim to reveal untold truths, secret histories and surveillance chronicles actually tend to—quite

self-consciously— "generate endless, competing accounts of the past" (Bullard 20), reifying existing ideological perspectives on history.

Through spy narratives and secret histories inspired by life writings such as Bampfield's and Smith's (which were themselves influenced by earlier French fictions of surveillance and by Civil War periodicals) the reading public was given access to the political and sexual secrets of powerful people and an idea of the professional and practical capacities of a spy. Furthermore, while *The Apology* and *Memoirs of Secret Service* detail fascinating historical moments—the end of the Civil Wars, in Bampfield's case, and, in Smith's, the 1696 plot to assassinate King William—they are ultimately records of self-surveillance. The authors spend a great deal of time reflecting upon, and retrospectively seeking to justify, their own conduct. They are marked as citizen spies particularly in their relentless concern for self-justification, as well as their painstaking accounting of their activities and their financial ledgers.

The idea of the citizen spy, who comes to life in post-Civil War and Interregnum narratives, was attractive to a reading public looking for explanation, catharsis, and verification of their own traumatic experiences, which were still being interpreted and re-interpreted in the public memory long after the Restoration (Neufeld 6). The quotidian nature of the citizen spy's work brought home the idea that spies could be anywhere, and that even the most mundane subject could be elevated through their surveillance. Reading surveillance chronicles such as Bampfield's and Smith's contributed to training readers in the private self-surveillance that characterizes eighteenth-century thought and later fictions of surveillance. The citizen spy is thus, in many ways, an early prototype of

eighteenth-century readers of fiction who are asked to interpret and assess the interior motivations and private lives of characters.

I begin this project on surveillance fiction with actual accounts by two spies to demonstrate the rhetorical results of spying's transformation as a profession, over the course of the seventeenth century, from an elite activity dependent upon noble patronage to a more quotidian form of bureaucratic service. The Civil Wars were understandably a source of imaginative fodder for much of the literature of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, and the spy figure was large part of this development. As Marshall has argued, "In the English nation-state much seems to have depended upon the presence of the dynamic individual in government who came to see it as his duty to provide [intelligence] services" (3). The association between the spy narrative and the "secret underworld" that is the backdrop for the development of Royalist spy networks during the Civil War is solidified in the literary figure of the spy who is capable of permeating that underworld while also mingling with kings and princes and reporting his adventures back to eager readers.

The spy figure as presented by Bampfield and Smith shares a kinship with the figures from scandalous secret histories of the 1680s and 1690s, and also with Mahmut, the central character in *The Turkish Spy*, which was the early French prototype for English spy narratives and secret histories. Mahmut is charged with spying on the Parisian court and on Parisian citizens; much of his narrative is concerned with how to present his information to his audience in the Ottoman court so that they will understand the significance of what he tells them. This is difficult, of course, because the information that he gathers is culturally marked, and Mahmut must constantly explain the significance

of something that has happened or something he has seen, as in when he explains the different denominations of Christian faith by arguing that "if we consult the Astrologers, they will assign as many different humours and complexions as there be stars in the heavens…But whether there be any truth in astrology or no, it is certain, that men differ in their sentiments of religion as they do in their faces" (V.ii.71-72). Despite his efforts, his explanations do not seem to persuade or even register on his audience. His spying has little impact on national or international affairs, leaving him feeling jaded, abandoned, and paranoid about his own safety. These are all states common to—and central to the narratives of—real-life spies such as Bampfield and Smith, as well. This blurred relationship between autobiography and fiction is a particularly important one for modern readers to consider because generic classifications that can so easily be taken for granted were being furiously negotiated during this era.[2]

One example of this overlap between fiction and history occurs in the works of Roger Manley, himself a spy during the Interregnum. Manley was the author of several military histories, including *History of the Late Warres in Denmark* (1670), and *Commentariorum de Rebellione Anglicana* (1686) (*History of the Rebellions in England, Scotland, and Ireland* [1691]), an account of both the English Civil Wars and Monmouth's Rebellion. But, as Rachel Carnell astutely points out, Manley also wrote a romantic novel called *The Russian Imposter* more along the lines of Aphra Behn's romantic allegory, *Love Letters Between a Nobleman and His Sister* (1683-1687) (*A Political Biography of Delarivier Manley* 49). In her own autobiography, *The Adventures of Rivella* (1714), Delarivier Manley later wrongly attributes Marana's *Turkish Spy* to her father.[3] Carnell argues that seventeenth-century authors such as Roger Manley, who

combined "(serious) satire and (mere) romance" with history, had an enduring impact on eighteenth-century narrative (50). This complicated interrelationship between fiction and history in late seventeenth-century England thus created the conditions for fictions of imagined surveillance.

A complete history of English spycraft during the Elizabethan and early Stuart periods is outside the scope of this project.[4] However, some context for the changing relationship between spies and the state is necessary at this point. I will first briefly contextualize how both spying as a profession and writing about spying transformed in the seventeenth century. Then I will analyze Bampfield's and Smith's autobiographical accounts of their exploits as spies in the late seventeenth century by considering how surveillance functions for each author as both a tool of potential social and economic advancement and a conversely (and more often) as a locus of existential doubt, frustration, and paranoia. This confluence between surveillance and paranoia is significant in that neither Bampfield nor Smith could consider themselves ultimately successful spies—the impact of their work is dubious and something about their personalities seem to have alienated most of their supporters. Both pay appropriate patriotic lip service, but their narratives are decidedly—if understandably—self-serving. Their accounts register spying as work, and dangerous work at that because it involves poor men at the mercy of the powerful and wealthy: the writing of spy narratives is the only form of social or financial recourse available to either of these men.

## Absolutism, Early Modern Spycraft, and the Spying Subject

One way for an absolutist monarch to retain power is to generate a perception of herself as superhuman, divinely ordained, and all-knowing (a mode of self-presentation

that some later spies—both real and fictional—try to adopt themselves). Queen Elizabeth I made her powers of surveillance a visible extension of her own body in her well-known Rainbow Portrait (Figure 1), in which she wears a dress embroidered with eyes and ears, implying that her royal body (i.e., the state) was composed of multiple points of surveillance, thus rendering her omniscient. Foucault posits that prior to the Enlightenment the power of the state relied upon both the monarch's visible body and public displays of power and punishments such as coronations and executions (217). Elizabeth I was certainly devoted to these performative spectacles of power, and Charles II followed suit during the Restoration, taking additional cues from the court of Louis XIV.[5] Of course, Elizabeth I's dress did not allow her to see and hear everything that went on in her kingdom. However, such images did the work of representing her imaginary proximity to every citizen and perpetuating a mythos of an all-seeing, all-knowing sovereign, while leaving the real source of her knowledge—her extensive spy networks, controlled by Secretary of State Francis Walsingham, whom Smith notes "directed the underground war against what were perceived to be [Queen Elizabeth I's] enemies with ruthless and terrifying efficiency"—invisible (7). The spycraft of Elizabeth's reign is a prime example of how spying functions in support of an absolutist state. Under Elizabeth, spying became seen as necessary to the health of the state; its efficacy depended on its invisibility.

Spy networks were also an important and invisible source of an absolute ruler's power. Elizabethan, Stuart, and later, Hanoverian spy networks consisted of webs of paid informants controlled by well-connected aristocrats with their own personal agendas. Spies operated under "a complex system of patronage, rather than [as] a professional

'secret service'" (Archer 7). These networks were established by individual courtiers who used information as currency to compete for the monarch's favor and against one another (45-46). The job of directing intelligence and espionage activities traditionally fell to the Secretary of State during the reigns of Queen Elizabeth I, Charles I, Cromwell, and the later Stuarts. Through her spy networks, the monarch could create the perception of proximity to individual citizens—the idea, perhaps that each eye on Elizabeth's dress corresponded to an individual spy on her behalf—when in reality the networks perpetuated the distance between herself and her subjects. In later surveillance chronicles, we shall see that the job of perpetuating this distance usually fell to people of the lower and middling classes. The monarch's absolutist state was, ironically, enforced and reified by people who could not access its divine mysteries for themselves. Bampfield's and Smith's narratives illustrate how the practical work of spying usually meant that there were many intermediaries—from the Secretary of State on down—between the spy and his patron, and how this extended web of contacts could often leave the spy "out in the cold," to borrow a phrase from Le Carré, and sometimes even at the mercy of bounty hunters or debt collectors, as in Aphra Behn's case (Todd 70).

This phenomenon of intelligence networks that worked at the behest of individual courtiers and at a distance from the monarch was magnified for Royalist spies by the chaos of the Interregnum and Restoration period.[6] Former Royalist spies, such as Bampfield and Roger Manley, father of Delarivier, were forced to try to eke out a living in exile while also hedging their bets that the Stuarts would one day be restored and would remember those who had been loyal—or, at least, not overtly disloyal. Carnell's study of Roger Manley's letters to his employer during his service as a spy while in exile

during the Interregnum is a prime example of the rhetorical gymnastics in which spies such as Manley and Bampfield had to engage. Like Bampfield, Manley did not find favor with the government immediately after the Restoration (Carnell 41), possibly because of his work on behalf of his brother-in-law, Isaac Dorislaus, who gathered intelligence for John Thurloe during the Interregnum (30). Manley was eventually given several military positions, but was never admitted to the elite court circles to which his daughter later suggested the family had aspired before the Glorious Revolution (18). His Interregnum letters imply that "Manley was eager to serve Cromwell's government as long as Charles Stuart seemed incapable of offering any alternative" (36) for the understandable reason that "he simply needed the employment" (35). Manley's keen attention to financial matters (largely due to his unemployment), to his isolation from friends and family, and to his material needs, are all prominent features of his letters (33-34). Bampfield and Smith share his concerns: the quotidian details of these spies' accounts attests to the petty mundanities inherent in a life spent working for patrons with opaque motivations whose personal agendas mediate what their spies can do—as well as where they live and how much money they can make—with their intelligence. In doing so, their narratives intensify the division between the spy and his untouchable object of surveillance. Mahmut, Manley, Bampfield and Smith all show the labor of spying and its impact on the psyche while also capitalizing the glamorous and scandalous elements of spy work, such as proximity to kings and government ministers.

## Early Modern Surveillance Narratives

This chapter focuses on Joseph Bampfield's and Matthew Smith's narratives of their time in secret service; Bampfield's written in the aftermath of the Civil Wars and

Smith's a product of the lapse of the Licensing Act of 1695. Bampfield's *Apology* and Smith's *Memoirs* exemplify the way in which surveillance generated power and economic support during the mid- and late-seventeenth centuries, but they also demonstrate the destabilizing effects of disillusionment with absolute authority. Bampfield's and Smith's narratives were made possible by the development of daily newspapers solely devoted to informing one end of the kingdom about what was going on in the other, and also made the spy a ubiquitous figure in print.[7] This new context for print publications emerged when print licensing was abolished after Charles I's termination of the Star Chamber in 1641, creating an influx of cheap printed materials.[8] During the Civil Wars, spies and spying became part of public discourse through the flourishing of competing periodicals that each proclaimed to know the truth about what was going on in the Royalist camp, in Parliament, or amongst the highest levels of Army command. Spying, then, is introduced in England as a maneuver made necessary by wartime; the spy's eyewitness accounts are ostensibly supposed to trump information from other sources. The spy's information extended beyond political tactics or battle strategies to include human behavior usually kept private (and usually deemed irrelevant by generals and statesmen). The forbidden nature of these periodicals and their focus on firsthand accounts only increased the market for authentic narratives by spies.[9]

This influx of cheaply available ideological literature during the Civil Wars had a devastating effect on the monarchy; according to Joad Raymond, "The mystique of the Crown's authority was…diminished and opened up to scrutiny, overtly examined in cheap print" (315). By the end of the Civil Wars, things had changed. The practical work of spying so closely associated with the sovereign during the Renaissance became

divorced from the idea of an ever-present sovereign around the same time as Charles I, the head of state, was literally divorced from his head. Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, pre-empts Foucault in attributing the failure of Charles I's reign to the erosion of the perception that the monarch's power was both mysterious and divinely ordained. Comparing Elizabeth I to Charles I in his *History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England* (1702-1704), Clarendon says:

> Those who look back upon the Council-books of Queen Elizabeth and the acts of the Star-chamber then, shall find as high instances of power and sovereignty upon the liberty and property of the subject as can be given. But the art, order and gravity of those proceedings (where short, severe, constant rules were set and smartly pursued, and the party only felt the weight of the judgment, not the passion of his judges, made them less taken notice of, and so less grievous to the public, though as intolerable to the person. (15)

To Clarendon's perception, Charles I lacked Elizabeth I's ability to generate the appearance of being an all-knowing monarch while rendering the structures that supported his power invisible.[10] Clarendon goes on to say that the natural response to the revelation that laws are revealed to be changeable, manmade, and not the divine end result of many "difficulties and mysteries," is rebellion (13). Cromwell's lapse into paranoia after his refusal to be declared king attests to this, as his act of refusal seems to have wreaked havoc upon him psychologically; Clarendon says that being offered the Crown seemed to make Cromwell realize to what extent overthrowing Charles I had been a sin against divine sovereignty (386). Clarendon's account, however, could be his own

attempt to restore the faded aura of this sovereignty because, as Clarendon he had feared, the "mystique" surrounding the state's monopoly on power and knowledge had seriously weakened by the end of the Civil Wars. Cromwell ultimately proved an uncharismatic head of state; according to Clarendon, the "many designs and conspiracies against him" attested to "the universal prejudice and aversion in the whole kingdom towards Cromwell and his government" (376).[11] The decline of absolutism in England coincides with the revelation of the monarch's fallibility and, according to Clarendon, the mutability of the monarch's laws, through the exposure of the relationship between power and information. Spies were a vital part of this construction when during the absolutist monarchy of Elizabeth I and the early Stuarts; they represented the mechanical aspects of mystique that simultaneously upheld absolute power and revealed its human foundation.

Because there was little to no government regulation over many of the daily and weekly publications cropping up in this period, writers also competed intensely with one another for readers and thus fueled the market for sensationalism that became the basis for the popularity of secret histories nearly fifty years later.[12] The signature rhetorical move among these periodicals, as Lois Potter has noted, "was to claim that one had a secret to tell" (5). For example, *The Spie, Communicating Intelligence from Oxford*, which C. John Sommerville notes is the first periodical to use the word "spy" in its title (65), begins with a claim to authenticity via eye-witness testimony from its man on the ground in the Royalist stronghold (*The Spie* issue 1, page 1). As an anti-royalist publication,[13] the *Spie* offered inside information about the unsavory state of life at the shadow court in Oxford, portraying the court-in-exile as a haven for degeneracy. Thus,

during the Civil Wars, spying becomes as much a marketing strategy designed to sell papers as a diplomatic tactic designed to shore up the absolutist monarchy.

One proto-narrative of surveillance that illustrates this connection between spying and individual economics in an especially visually delightful manner is Henry Adis's *A Spie, Sent Out of the Tower-Chamber in the Fleet* (1648). The frontispiece features an etching of a man holding a flaming torch in one hand and a lantern in the other (Figure 2). His back is to us and he appears to be entirely naked. His flesh, however, is covered from wrist to ankle with drawings of eyes, in homage to Elizabeth I's famous gown. There are forty eyes total: as the accompanying verse proclaims, the figure (a stand-in for both the god Argus and Adis himself) has eyes to spare. In the poem that follows, Adis, who was imprisoned for his opposition to Charles I's overthrow, calls on all-seeing Argus to deliver justice. Although he represents himself as adorned with eyes, he does not have eyes enough to redeem himself without divine intervention. In addition, Adis savvily takes advantage of his readership's attention by tacking on a two-page advertisement for his cleaning trade after his rhyming treatise (6-7).[14] Adis's brief polemic demonstrates how spy stories are often anchored in reality; his surreal figure and high-blown verse contrast with his attempt to gain new customers. Like Manley, Bampfield, and Smith, Adis has concerns outside the realm of political ideology: business is business. Adis's miniature spy chronicle also foreshadows the interplay among spy chronicles, secret histories, and the publishing industry that flourished throughout the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century by drawing on some imagery familiar from absolutist representations of power, in this case that of clothing covered in eyes in order to suggest a superhuman ability to see what is meant to be hidden. His spy is a lower-class

individual whose story of oppression gives him a platform to beg for justice, to expose the foibles of those in power, and to promote his own economic welfare.

This chapter largely focuses on how two spies deal with their own social and economic oppression through the narratives of their exploits. It is a generally unhappy trajectory. Bampfield and Smith both represent the labor of their spying as directly linked to their fractured subjectivities. As a result of their jobs, both spies become economically poor, without social cachet, and intensely paranoid being spied on themselves. They pay lip service to loyalty but know that it is unlikely that their patrons will grant them such favors in return. In sum, the impact of their spying upon their psyches almost entirely negative: the act of spying seems to devolve and dissolve individual selfhood while reinforcing the apparatus of state power. I will first briefly discuss the theme of paranoia and surveillance in the early eighteenth-century as it originates in *The Turkish Spy*, and then focus on how Bampfield's and Smith's precarious economic situations further inform their destabilization. Then I will outline how this representation of fractured selfhood manifests in each of their individual narratives.

## Paranoia and Early Surveillance Narratives

These negative representations of spying effects narratives may seem surprising when we consider that the idea that a rank-and-file citizen could participate in operations crucial to the wellbeing of the state was an attractive one for authors of surveillance narratives because they allowed for a focus on an individual's ability to influence the course of history. From the late seventeenth-century onward, due to the waning influence of absolutist ideals and the increase in print publication however, the spy becomes reified

in English literature as a figure who watches, witnesses, and is sometimes capable of actively directing the narrative.[15]

However, Smith's and Bampfield's narratives have an aura that mirrors—and was likely inspired by—Marana's *Turkish Spy*.[16] As in the case of many late-seventeenth century surveillance chronicles, the *Turkish Spy* is a prototype for later spy narratives in its depiction of both utter loneliness and occasional, often fraught, glimpses of community. The act of spying, these narratives suggest, creates epistemological uncertainty for the spy. Mahmut, the Turkish Spy, lives undercover in Paris and corresponds with his friends and employers in Turkey, Germany, Italy, and Persia. One notable letter from the first volume, written soon after his arrival in Paris, demonstrates the conditional nature of friendship in Mahmut's world:

> Seeing I am at present far off, and by Consequence the more expos'd to Criticks and ill Offices, do not forget the Interests of thy Friend; Watch Day and Night for the Advantage of my Life, observe, search and endeavor to penetrate what People discourse of me, and what is said concerning me at Court. Our great Emperor sent me hither to observe what passes here, and render him an Account…Most Things are done on that side, but they are not at all equally performed. I have therefore most just Reason to apprehend that all Men do know that I shall acquit my self with Fidelity, of the Orders I have received. (9)

Mahmut performs his duties as spymaster while suspecting that he will never be adequately compensated for his work; moreover, he constantly fears that he may be discovered, sold out, ignored, or otherwise betrayed as a matter of policy. That he is

undercover, embedded in a foreign society, makes his fears all the more acute: his disguise may eventually be all he has left. His destabilized position also means he is not a particularly effective spy! Mahmut relies on rumors and hearsay, and his concern for his reputation abroad leads him to recruit his friend as a spy on matters relating to his own well-being. While I agree to some extent with Ballaster's contention that spies fear discovery, and that "the authority of the spy's 'gaze is consistently undermined by his terror of discovery; from being the one who looks, he may become the one who is looked at and exposed" (*Oriental Fictions* 7), I argue further that the ultimate fear for late-seventeenth century spies such as Marana, Bampfield, and Smith is that their identities will be subsumed by their cover stories; that they will disappear into their roles as double agents and the existence of their true selves will never be believed.

The Economics of Surveillance

Because of the spy narrator's usually precarious economic position, the issue of currency overtly preoccupies early surveillance narratives. Both Bampfield's and Smith's narratives are explicitly written in the service of their authors' financial goals: both authors wish to exchange their information for relief from their current poverty. Their accounts also particularly illustrate how the economics of espionage factor into the production of narratives by spies and former spies. Bampfield and Smith prefigure twentieth and twenty-first century spy narratives in keeping exacting ledgers of their expenses, although the twentieth and twenty-first century English spy in particular tends to come from a position of privilege rather than penury (think of Bond telling us about his luxurious suits). Both narrators speak bluntly about the harsh economic realities of their positions: they sometimes get paid late, not enough, or not at all, and have little recourse

in any case. They are in constant danger of being thrown into debtors' prison. They write as disenfranchised, disaffected citizens promised payment and nominal power for their services who instead find themselves destitute and, in Bampfield's case, exiled. To write as a spy meant to inform on one's social and economic betters; this was not without risk. Spies draw attention to the wide gulf between themselves and the subjects they survey so as to avoid implicating themselves in the plots that they report upon, and also to generate sympathy and hopefully economic compensation.

The details of Bampfield's and Smith's economic plights are bound up with their rhetorical strategies: both writers imply at times that they would be better spies if their employers were more punctual or more generous with their accounts. Bampfield is in arguably worse straits than Smith, as the very impetus for his narrative is the fact that he writes while exiled and unemployed in Friesland after his patron Johan de Witt's murder. Smith, however, keeps a continuous ledger of the money he is promised versus that which he receives, alongside a list of operating expenses that his infiltration of the Jacobites dictates; he says at one point that he has been "ruin'd by contracting debts for Intelligence" (145). There is an element of grasping in Smith's account that clearly colored John Macky's and James Ferguson's later impressions of him, although it is hard not to sympathize with his fears of being arrested for debts when we consider what happened to Behn and Defoe (24).

Smith blatantly admits that he entered the service in the "hopes of making my fortune" (viii) and when in writing to Shrewsbury he hints that, "If I was furnished with money, nothing of moment could slip my knowledge," a glimmer of extortion appears (56). He frequently interrupts the flow of his narrative to remind the reader of how things

stand with his accounts: in the middle of a heightened moment when the King's life seems to be in grave danger, Smith stops the action to note that, "It may here be observed, that I have received but 40*l*" (91). He also spends several pages recounting the details of the Duke of Shrewsbury's agreement to pay him twenty pounds per quarter for his services; Smith outwardly seems to accept this arrangement, but he also appends a footnote to a copy of a letter from the Duke outlining the terms of their arrangement that makes it clear that he considers himself to have been swindled:

> The reader may observe that I did not know what allowance the D— design'd me till I received this letter. It may likewise be observ'd that I have done the nation service, and that I was only to make discoveries and not to be an evidence, for which I was to be rewarded over and above my fix'd pension. (69-70)

Smith's tempestuous relationship with Shrewsbury, it should be noted, seems designed to cast aspersions on Shrewsbury's loyalty (who was later accused of plotting against George I). This passage is also constructed to convince the reader that Smith remains under-recognized for his services. The distinction that Smith makes between being "an Evidence" and making "Discoveries" is an important one to him, from both a financial and a legal perspective. It shows that he sees intelligence work as consisting of two parts: the actual getting of information and relaying it to appropriate authorities, and then presenting or swearing to the truth of that information, either in court or Parliament. The first option requires the spy to attain the utmost anonymity; the second requires that he lose it and hopefully attain some level of fame and recognition for services rendered (as in the case of Thomas Prendergast, discussed below, but decidedly not in Smith's own

case). Thus, Bampfield and Smith have a unique and perhaps wishful idea about the possibilities that will open up for them as a result of their revelations.

The desire for financial recognition for services rendered presents itself in most early spy narratives: anonymity and, often, humiliation, are the short-term conditions one must undergo in order to achieve wealth and long-lasting renown, hopefully via a Livy-like history. Smith (like many twentieth-century scholars of the history of spycraft) draws on historical and biblical precedent for the remuneration of spies, citing Livy's account of how the slave who instigated the expulsion of Tarquin from Rome was recompensed with "a gratuity, out of the public treasure…and, with his liberty, the freedom of the city" (viii) and then, in the Book of Esther, Ahasuerus's eventual reward to Mordechai for foiling a plot against him (ix). Precedent entitles faithful spies to these rewards, according to Smith. At the same time, this desire for recognition and compensation in Bampfield's and Smith's narratives is fueled by their concerns that they will be double-crossed by their handlers. Their rigorous ledgers of expenses and activities are a strategy meant to establish some measure of accounting within their uncertain relationships with their social and economic superiors. Their intense focus on the minutiae of their labors is design to draw attention to the fact that such labors exist, when the nature of spycraft itself is invisibility. This need to be seen and yet unseen contributes to the air of paranoia that hangs over both narratives.

Joseph Bampfield's *Apology* and Matthew Smith's *Memoirs*

In the following section, I will briefly contextualize Bampfield's and Smith's narratives and show how the authors not only inform upon the surreptitious activities of the high and mighty but elicit sympathy for the plight of the individual caught in the

historical upheaval of the time, forced to scrape out a living by informing on friends and family and ultimately reduced to economic dependence, if not penury. These two narratives position the individual self against monolithic institutions of government and nobility and suggest that the individual is only as influential as his powerful patrons. They are representative of the secret history's claim to reveal hidden information about social and political power structures, and thus demonstrate how the impulse towards such revelations was a product of the particular political context of the late seventeenth century.

Bampfield published his *Apology* in the first half of 1685, near the end of his life.[17] He began his career as a colonel in Charles I's army around 1642, and after the destruction of the Royalist army at the Battle of Naseby in 1645, he became Charles I's personal agent and courier. During these years, he was charged with delivering the King's enciphered messages to his wife and friends, as well as letters of negotiation to his enemies in Parliament. However, the s of Bampfield's career extends far beyond the events recounted in the *Apology*. From personal letters and papers—particularly the *Thurloe Papers*, and the *Calendar of the Clarendon State Papers*—a more variegated picture of Bampfield's surveillance activities on behalf of several different employers begins to emerge. In 1654, he became a spy for Cromwell's Commonwealth, and although he roundly denies this in the final pages of his *Memoirs*, he was employed throughout the Interregnum in intelligence-gathering work for both Cromwell and the Dutch. For this, he was imprisoned at the Restoration and sought refuge in Holland upon his release. In Holland, he worked in counterintelligence for the republican leader Johan de Witt. After de Witt's assassination by an Orangist mob in 1672, Bampfield was again

an agent without a spymaster and his career in intelligence was effectively finished (*Apology* 17).[18]

Bampfield's work for Cromwell and the Dutch can be characterized as that of "a political commentator" (23): he informed about the personalities within the Royalist court, providing true-to-life versions of the inflated personas John Macky later presents in his *Memoirs*. Bampfield's intelligence-gathering tactics relied on cipher, disguise, and several daring escapes from prison, and his wide range of diplomatic experience, both in England and in courts abroad. He acted as a go-between for Royalists in Paris and English Presbyterians, and between the Royalist Scots led by the Duke of Argyle and prominent Presbyterians in London. For Cromwell, Bampfield provided information about Royalists, tried in vain to learn what Cardinal Mazarin had planned with regards to Spain, and succeeded in learning the "conditions the French would accept in treaty with England" (23). Much of his intelligence work for Johan de Witt in Holland is "supplemented…from voluminous reports William Scott made to Aphra Behn in the summer and fall of 1666" (24).

Bampfield has been seen as an "opportunistic turncoat" by readers in his time and our own. His protestations that he was forced to provide information about Royalists to Thurloe and the Dutch in order to make a living were assumed to be hollow attempts at justification by a scoundrel (13). His record as a bigamist certainly didn't help his image. However, in recent years, scholars, led by John Loftis and Paul Hardacre, who edited the modern edition of the *Apology*, have revised their opinions of him. Rather than viewing Bampfield as simply a disloyal scoundrel who changed sides at every opportunity, their work behooves us to consider the difficulty of Bampfield's position after Charles I's

execution. A story of an encounter between Bampfield and the Earl of Clarendon (admittedly related by Bampfield) helps to moderate our reception of Bampfield's supposedly treasonous activities. Bampfield recounts that Clarendon listened to the story of his actions on behalf of Charles I and concluded: "The sum of all is that Colonel Bampfield has served the Crown from his youth, and when we left him, he left us" (88). Readers can acknowledge his mistakes and bad behavior, as Bampfield himself sometimes does, but also sympathize that his position as the unemployed spy of a recently executed king made utilizing his connections and skills in intelligence gathering "an insupportable necessity" (82). Bampfield's predicament was similar to that of many exiled Royalists who were forced to find a new way to make a living during the Interregnum: like Roger Manley, he simply needed a job. Bampfield's economic necessity left him at the mercy of people like Clarendon, who had their own reasons and motivations—and their own political wasps' nests—and could not be relied upon to advocate for him honestly. Here the divide between loyalty and economic necessity becomes quite stark: Bampfield's narrative is a testament to the desperation of his economic position; an economic position he had succumbed to on behalf of the late King.

Bampfield's selfhood is intimately bound up in his relationship to Charles I. While Bampfield's loyalty to England shifted under Cromwell, his personal loyalty to Charles I has never been in doubt. The two men developed, in Bampfield's account, a particular friendship that seems to have been based on Charles's recognition that Bampfield could help him personally, even when his sovereignty was beyond saving. When Charles was imprisoned on the Isle of Jersey after his attempted escape, he was heavily guarded and his actions and visitors were monitored (Smith 111). Bampfield's *Apology* recounts how

he tried hard to warn Charles that if negotiations with Parliament broke down, he would probably be beheaded. The Royalist army had sustained heavy losses and it seemed increasingly likely to Bampfield that Charles's life would eventually be forfeit (50). Much of Bampfield's advice is centered upon this point—his concern for his monarch's literal body trumps Charles I's belief that his body is coterminous with the state. In this respect, Bampfield's intelligence-gathering on Charles's behalf has allowed him, briefly, some level of social mobility: Bampfield became the intelligence apparatus for Charles I himself, not the state that Charles embodied.

In Bampfield's advice to Charles I, we can trace the breakdown of the idea that the monarch and the monarchy are one. Charles clearly trusted Bampfield enough to speak candidly to him about these matters, and, touchingly, enough to release Bampfield from his service when he realized that further negotiations were useless. Bampfield's loyalty to Charles I and his pride in his elite patronage was a personal driving force. Bampfield found an unlikely source of paternal friendship in King Charles I; his relationship with Charles appears deeply personally significant to him. However, it is also the ace up the sleeve of his narrative, and he goes to great lengths in the *Apology* to verify Charles's esteem for him, even including Charles's final letter to him which the erstwhile monarch signs "your assured friend" (80). In their private meetings, the pair seems to supersede their official relationship and prescribed social roles (especially as Charles's official status as prisoner-king becomes ever-murkier). Charles I certainly authorized Bampfield to negotiate on his behalf, and Bampfield advised the king in his dealings with the Parliamentarians. Bampfield's advice to Charles was dependent on information that Bampfield could access because he was not noble or well-known; it was easy for him to

make contacts unnoticed or even in disguise; like Renaissance spies, the information he provided "required access to a field of information that cut across the class system" (Archer 46). It may have been easier for Charles I to speak candidly to him for this reason.

Bampfield's friendship with Charles I stands out as the only positive and authentic relationship he presents in his memoirs; it is also Bampfield's one and only hope for social mobility. As the rest of Bampfield's account shows, future authority figures he encounters—Cromwell and the Stuart Kings alike—prove themselves untrustworthy and often outright hostile towards him. Bampfield's later troubled relationships with Charles II and James II also demonstrate how precarious the monarch's supposedly absolute knowledge really was: as Archer points out, "the monarch was partly dependent on other people in powerful positions, negotiating with and between them within the conventions of courtly rationality, making strategic but fallible use of its unwritten rules to gather as much information as possible" (12). The events of the Civil Wars seem, understandably, to be a signal event in convincing Bampfield that an absolutist monarch is only as absolute as his spies, and also that the world may well be out to get him. Over the remainder of his narrative, Bampfield recounts a long series of betrayals by anonymous so-called friends, including "one who had served me long, whom I had bred up from a boy and much obliged" (80). Later, Charles II and his Lord Chancellor, the Earl of Clarendon, interrogate him after being accused anonymously. He discovers in the course of this interrogation that his behavior, including where he goes, to whom he speaks, and detailed reports of those discussions, has been reported anonymously by his accuser to the King for some time. His old friends, it seems, have turned on him (89-90). In contrast

to his affective relationship with Charles I, Bampfield's relationships during the Interregnum are solely contractual, and most of these contracts are eventually broken. Bampfield's account indexes what is lost when a feudal economy based on individual loyalty to a divinely-appointed ruler is replaced with a contractual economy based on individual agreements.

Paranoia and rage combine to generate Bampfield's narrative: the epigraph to his preface comes from Juvenal's *Satire I*: *tacit indignatio versus*—"indignation inspires poetry"—and indeed the narrative is studded with instances of Bampfield's indignation overtaking him, both in terms of the events he recalls and in the act of recalling them. After the deeply personal relationship he enjoyed with Charles I, and his subsequent spurning by Charles II at his court-in-exile, even Bampfield admits that he let his ire get the best of him, and unwisely declared that if Charles II would not receive him, he would be forced to go back to England and "seek my bread amongst your enemies, who I have hitherto opposed with all the vigor and industry I could" (82). In citing *Satire I*, Bampfield may have drawn inspiration from John Dryden, who translated the *Satires* after his own alienation from court and the loss of his laureateship in 1689. Like Dryden, Bampfield seems to have felt that "it is hard to write, but harder to forbear" (*Satires* 7). While Dryden choose to attack William's reign through "clandestine protests" (Combe 36), Bampfield works feverishly to clear his name and explain the tangled circumstances that render him out of favor with the Army, the Royalists, Cromwell's Commonwealth government, and both the exiled and the restored Stuarts.

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his ire get the best of him, and unwisely declared that if Charles II would not receive him, he would be forced to go back to England and "seek my bread amongst your enemies, who I have hitherto opposed with all the vigor and industry I could" (82). It is also true, however, that this indignation is responsible for generating the narrative, as Bampfield works feverishly throughout to clear his name and explain the tangled circumstances that seem to lead to him always being out of favor with the Army, the Royalists, Cromwell's Commonwealth government, and both the exiled and the restored Stuarts. The tone of these sections reflects the author's deep paranoia and despair—he is convinced, and attempting to convince his readers in turn, that his exile and its attendant prosecutions have been based on a series of misunderstandings caused by his tendency to speak to freely and the "false accusations—with secret and detestable practices to destroy me" of his many enemies at court (96). Bampfield lived in a time when gossip and rumor were enough to condemn or exile a person, and when the head of state was still perceived as an all-knowing figure. Toward the end of his narrative, he appears embittered, but unsurprised, by the way information about his has been transmitted throughout the courts of Europe: he says "I did then, as I do now, think that if the very trees could have had the discoursive faculty, they would have been employed to my disadvantage, which made me as much as was decently possible…avoid the speaking with all mankind" (93).

Bampfield distrusts words, although at the end of his life he is forced to rely upon them in a last ditch effort to set the record straight: "I well know to what an extent words written, as well as spoken, may be wrested if there can in them be any possibility of a double sense—the change of a point, of a comma, or of the least accent may vary a whole sentence or period" (79). His caution has to do with how a person's words can take on a

life of their own, and be twisted or misunderstood. Because of this, for example, he lies about his involvement with the Dutch—an involvement that may have been necessary for his own livelihood and may not have caused any harm to the Stuarts, but which experience has shown him cannot be satisfactorily explained.

Paranoia is a constant for Bampfield because plots and conspiracies are inherent in humanity and even in the very earth; they are part of the fabric of existence. In a probable allusion to the Rye House Plot, he relates to a moment when "the whole fabric of government, causing such a violent and general conflagration as I fear even to this day has never been totally extinguished, but as fire hid in the caverns of the earth is often to make very dangerous eruptions" (75). His narrative is not, to put it mildly, an optimistic account of what it is to be a spy; it signals spying as an invisible form of labor that also wreaks invisible havoc upon an individual's self-conception. Once established, paranoia feeds into itself in an infinite loop of misunderstandings and "double sense."

Bampfield's account also includes an uber-enemy in the figure of Oliver Cromwell; Bampfield's portrayal of Cromwell as an uneasy absolutist has some similarities to that of the Earl of Clarendon in his *History of the Rebellion*. Indeed, both Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion* and Bampfield's *Apology* are attempts to vindicate their authors from charges of negligence, often through delicately pointing out the many instances in which Charles I refused to take their good advice.[19] Clarendon describes Cromwell as a "brave, bad man" (393) at the end of his life, but in his early career in Parliament, Cromwell comes across as aloof, silent, and penetrating; an early prototype for Mr. Spectator. Cromwell proclaims no loyalties in order that he might gain unobtrusive entrance to as many scenes and conversations as possible:

> When he appeared first in the Parliament, he seemed to have a person in no degree gracious, no ornament of discourse, none of those talents which use to reconcile the affections of the standers by: yet as he grew into place and authority, his parts seemed to be renewed, as if he had concealed faculties till he had occasion to use them; and when he was to act the part of a great man, he did it without any indecency through the want of custom. (389)

Cromwell's lack of graciousness and off-putting personality contrasts with Mr. Spectator's ability to blend in, but both know how to gain access to privileged information. Bampfield makes Cromwell appear something of a mastermind who became increasingly canny as his career advanced and also portrays him as an expert plotter, especially in his takeover of London: "a bloodless victory…making way to that unbounded power which he after achieved and waded to through a sea of blood in all the three nations" (64). Both Bampfield and Clarendon treat the manner of Cromwell's death, as well: Bampfield rues that the instigator of such bloodshed has the luxury of "d[ying] in peace and declar[ing] his successor" (64), while Clarendon suggests that Cromwell became increasingly paranoid towards the end of his life, and especially after his daughter's death (387-388). According to Clarendon, Cromwell's subjectivity was split because of the pressure of governing the Commonwealth; the implication is that because Cromwell did not have the divine right to govern, the power he wielded overwhelmed his very mind. Clarendon records Cromwell's lapse into an advanced state of paranoia after his refusal of Parliament's offer of the crown. The initial offer seems to trigger deep emotions in Cromwell which register on his features and make him unable to

access language: “his looks were marvellously discomposed, and discovered a mind full of trouble and irresolution, so his words were broken and disjointed” (VI.28). After this mental break, Cromwell comes to realize that he is a usurper, which splits him into two selves: the self who is aware of his own status as an imposter and the self who still controls the government with increasingly protectionist tactics.

Bampfield's narrative is a prototypical eighteenth-century spy narrative, demonstrating the paranoia, self-surveillance, and economic motivations that characterize eighteenth-century surveillance fiction. As we shall see, late-seventeenth century spy narratives just as often bear out Melinda Rabb's point that narratives of paranoia are products of the "hidden violence of struggles over succession and authority during the formative years of 'the modern liberal subject'" by demonstrating the spy's extreme lack of agency and attendant existential distress (179). *Apology* thus demonstrates how the labor of spying generates an attendant paranoia about selfhood and subjectivity when the spy perceives that his labor has been rendered invisible. Smith's narrative, written several decades later, reflects similar concerns.

As I have noted, Bampfield's narrative, particularly his detailed descriptions of the sieges and battles of the Civil Wars, has been corroborated through other sources including letters and state papers.[20] Smith's *Memoirs*, however, is more dubious in its origins. John Macky, who is also one of the subjects of discussion in Chapter Two, is a pivotal figure in the formation of the spy narrative not only because of his extensive biographical cataloguing of important political figures, but because of his engagement with other writers. According to Macky, Smith never existed, and "Matthew Smith" is a persona invented by Charles, Earl of Monmouth (and later, Earl of Peterborough)[21] and

Charles Davenant, in order to smear Charles Talbot, the Duke of Shrewsbury (Smith's oft-absent patron) and accuse Shrewsbury and Lord Oxford (Robert Harley)[22] of conspiring to restore James II to the throne. An 1887 biography by James Ferguson of Smith's chief enemy, the -turned-Whig polemicist Robert Ferguson (no relation), concedes Smith's existence, but calls him "a very doubtful witness…suspected of inventing much of his story to damage Lord Shrewsbury" (320) and notes that some people accused Smith (much to his rage) of basing his narrative off "scraps of information culled from *The Post Boy* [the popular newspaper]" (325). However, the machinations and schemes inherent in court life are a common theme of memoirs of the seventeenth and early-eighteenth centuries; indeed, Macky's own *A View of the Court of St. Germain* (1696) details the experiences of Protestant Royalists who fled to James II's court at St. Germain expecting warm welcome, but found a cold reception that compounded their exile. The fact of Smith's existence or non-existence is both beyond the scope of and irrelevant to my argument: his narrative persona surely does exist, and as a spy figure he corresponds with his contemporaries—including Bampfield—in presenting an account of spying that also exposes the massive bureaucratic machinations capable of rendering an individual's intelligence irrelevant, sometimes at the peril of national security. Smith's narrative had no impact on the Assassination Plot of 1696; his spying was politically useless. However, readers come away with plenty of information about the dangers involved in the labor of spying, as well as the pitiful economic and social remunerations.

Smith's loyalties, like Bampfield's, are complicated: his narrative is punctuated by alternating pleas for understanding of his past flaws and complaints about his financial

straits. At the time of his writing, Smith claims he is "reduced to the unhappy occasion of defending [his services], while on the verge of "starving" (A4). He also admits to having flirted with Jacobite sympathies in his youth after losing his position in the army; he claims the downfall of his military career gave him "some resentment too natural to those that are disappointed; and my disgrace and other circumstances, brought me into a confidence and greatness with the disaffected Party" (viii). He insinuates that these "other circumstances" have to do with the same Catholic relative, William Parkyns, who later becomes embroiled in the Assassination Plot of 1696, the central conflict of the *Memoirs*. However, once Smith realized that the Jacobite Party intended to return King James to power by assassinating William and relying on the assistance of French troops to invade England, he says he changed his mind and resisted an official affiliation with the Jacobites (viii). In invoking Jacobitism, Smith alludes to the powerful imaginative hold that the exiled court held for writers and politicians alike. The idea of Jacobitism was also part of the secret history's claim to radical disclosure of hidden operatives behind political events and social organization. For Whig writers, Jacobitism also represented a panacea of social ills—Daniel Defoe associates French Jacobite operatives with "everything that was bad" in *The Secret History of the White Staff* (12). In reality, "the Jacobite government in exile had built up a reputation among Louis XIV's ministers for being run by pathetically incompetent second raters and for being riddled with spies and traitors" (Szechi 101); as bogeymen in the public imagination, however Jacobites were ideal. Smith, who was deeply aware of how disorganized and poorly managed spies could be, probably had no illusions that Jacobitism represented a legitimate threat. However, his

representation of his dangerous brush (and familial proximity) with, and subsequent repudiation of, Jacobitism acts as a strategic foundation for his narrative authority.

Unlike Bampfield, Smith has few claims to friendship, especially the friendship of those in high places. Instead, he spends most of his *Memoirs* trying to distance himself from suspect people, particularly his own Catholic family. He simultaneously uses these same connections to gain access to the inner circle of the Assassination Plot as the Duke of Shrewsbury's double agent. Smith's actual relationship to Shrewsbury and Secretary Vernon is a disappointed shadow of his idea of what it should be. He seems to seek patronage and guidance from both men, and yet consistently finds himself blocked from accessing either. It doesn't help that the three are rarely in the same room together, communicating mainly through notes left at various coffeehouses.

While Bampfield's relationship with Charles I is a demonstration of the possibilities of intimacy within spy narratives, Smith's experience seems to do nothing except alienate him from fellowship. Conversely, with his attempt to form personal alliances with these men thwarted, Smith emotionally invests in his enemies—particularly the polemicist Robert Ferguson, his dark foil. Smith's description of Ferguson is the high emotional point in an already overwrought text: Ferguson is described as a "Luciferian Priest" and "Salamander," "an old Roman agent wrapped up in a Geneva Charter" (4), a "walking Amsterdam of religions" (4). Beyond the demonic association with Lucifer, Ferguson's personal habits are also linked to behaviors associated with conspiratorial, secretive, and potentially treasonous activities: he "never went out but in the night" and "he is always a writing" (7). Some of Ferguson's habits are noticeably, eerily similar to Smith's own, and Ferguson seems to be a virtuoso at a profession that

Smith wears uneasily. It is hard not to detect a note of awed envy in Smith's descriptions of Ferguson, some of which are so vitriolic that they make Ferguson sound as though he is possessed of superhuman advantages. Smith's observations of Ferguson show how the spy's personal relationships are fully imbricated in his paranoid dealings with the world. They also show a considerably innovative imagination at work, one able to blend his imagined ideas about supernatural creatures with the realm of the real (this also served him well in his representation of Jacobitism).

Smith's narrative directly reflects Mahmut's paranoia and his obsession with the minute details of his mission which he feels are constantly being overlooked by his superiors, who tend to ignore his requests for information altogether and often make demands that demonstrate how unaware they are of the minutiae of French culture and the difficulty involved in maintaining an undercover identity. In Volume V of *The Turkish Spy*, Mahmut's patience has worn thin and he declares to a friend:

> I believe, the Secretary of the Nazarene Affairs takes me to be a Conjurer, and thinks that I can divine of all the Changes and Alterations that happen at the Port; or that I have some Magical Glass, which represents to me the continued series of remote Events, with all the Transactions of the Imperial court, Camp, and City: Or else he wou'd not be so late in his Dispatches, and send me such Imperfect News. (V.51)

Smith has similar difficulty explaining the lay of the land to his own handlers because of spatial, social, and economic differences in their positions: Smith is dangerously exposed in the field, a first-degree witness to the information that he reports to Secretary Vernon, who is safely ensconced within bureaucracy and appears in the narrative safely ensconced

in a series of inns and private meeting rooms. At one point, Smith tells Secretary Vernon that his letters "were as plain and full to be understood as those chairs are known to be chairs (I then pointed to the chairs in the room)," but Vernon calls his information "dim-sighted" (150). Neither side is capable of seeing the other's point of view, perhaps because each is using the other for his own ends. Secretary Vernon's accusation plays on Smith's fear of being rendered invisible, both from an economic perspective and in terms of his own self-definition. Moreover, it highlights one of the key frustrations of the spy: he is rarely allowed to interpret or act upon what he surveys.

Smith is less concerned with immediate danger to his person than Bampfield, but equally paranoid. He represents a reality in which the authority figures he initially trusts—most particularly the Duke of Shrewsbury and Secretary Vernon, but also including William Trumbull and William Bentinck, the Earl of Portland—and who have promised him payment don't seem to believe his account of the existence of Jacobites among them and of the likelihood of a plausible plot on the King's life. Cromwell's paranoia, according to Clarendon, is made manifest in his adoption of compulsive rituals, particular travel patterns and bedtime habits, and his fear of assassination while travelling (VI.88). Smith seems to wish he could instill such a fear in King William as he attempts to unveil the increasingly ominous possibility of an assassination plot designed to ambush William in his coach as he travels. Because of the imposed, bureaucratic distance between himself and William, however, Smith is never able to plead his case except through his intermediaries, Vernon and Shrewsbury, who have their own concerns. When he suggests such a plot to Secretary Vernon, Vernon roundly rebuffs him: "What would you have the king cooped up?" (111). Unlike Bampfield, Smith has no contact with the

monarch he ostensibly seeks to protect; to even ask for such contact does not cross his mind. Secretary Vernon acts as the King's stand-in, keeping Smith distant from the monarch and raising questions in his mind about Vernon's own motivations. The conditions of Civil War gave Bampfield unprecedented access to Charles I and allowed the two men allegedly to develop something of a friendship based on personality rather than position. In Smith's case, the boundaries between monarch and citizen, between upper class political official and lowly (and suspiciously Catholic) spy are continuously reified, much to Smith's bitterness.

Smith's oblique accusation of his beneficiaries of suppressing his intelligence, blunting its value by ignoring it or changing its meaning in the retelling, is characterized by moral outrage. When Shrewsbury and Vernon also threaten Smith for speaking out against what he sees as a conspiracy to keep information from the King about the looming threats of assassination, the experience convinces him that there is something else going on behind the scenes: in a word, conspiracy. This conspiracy threatens King William's life, but it also threatens Smith's well-being, and this is what he chooses to highlight. He does this by railing against another spy whose role in thwarting a conspiracy against King William's life has actually been historically verified: Thomas Prendergast is the spy known to have revealed the Assassination Plot of 1696 just in time to head it off and catch the conspirators, for which he was handsomely rewarded (Hopkins, "Thomas Prendergast" *DNB*). Smith mentions "Prendergrass" only briefly, among other supposed informers (155), but his narrative seems designed to compare his life's trajectory unfavorably to Prendergast's, and make the point that Smith, too, is entitled to his desserts. Smith's venomous stance against Ferguson and his howling about

the unfairness of Prendergast's reward marks *Memoirs* as a decidedly unpatriotic narrative; Smith is appropriately noisy about his loyalty to King William but his anger is largely directed not against William's potential assassins, but against the people Smith feels have not given him the credit he is due. He feels intensely proprietary about his information, and angry at the idea that other people might be trading on the same, or similar, information. In this regard, he is like any reporter with a scoop: to borrow a phrase from Janet Malcolm, "every writer thinks someone else is working on his subject; it is part of the paranoid state of mind necessary for the completion of the infinitely postponable task of writing" (61). Smith's account thus reveals itself as anxiously connected with other spy narratives, jostling for the attention of a reading public hungry for salacious details. In alluding to Prendergast, Smith is fashioning himself as a heroic secret agent, worthy of reward, and staking out his own claim to have access to the secrets of kings and their enemies.

## Conclusion

To suggest that Bampfield and Smith are similar in most respects would be disingenuous. Their narratives are the products of radically different historical, social, and personal contexts. Bampfield writes from retirement near the end of his life; *Apology* is simultaneously an elegy, a vindication, and a tribute to his departed friend, King Charles I. Smith's *Memoirs* is more focused on day-to-day intelligences preceding the 1696 Assassination Plot, however, it is notable that at the time of his writing the Plot has already been foiled. So Smith's purpose in writing is not to save King William's life, but to account for himself against the aspersions that his so-called patrons have cast upon his behavior, and to hopefully gain recognition, wealth, and further employment. Patriotism

plays only a small role in either narrative. Bampfield's and Smith's accounts of their secret services are thus worth studying in conjunction because of the ways in which their narratives converge: they tell similar stories of exile, isolation, paranoia, and secrecy. One reason for their ultimately negative outlooks is that neither narrator works for the winning side; at the same time, neither seems at the time of his writing to particularly care. Bampfield and Smith ultimately record the impact of spying as labor, which, while occasionally rewarding in providing opportunities for self-aggrandizement and financial mobility, is also a psychologically destabilizing, disaffecting, lonely, and potentially economically perilous profession. Both record the practical implications of their positions as secret service agents; that is to say, the ignominies they are subject to because the secret nature of their work means that they cannot get the recognition and pecuniary compensation to which they feel they are entitled, and their reputations are, furthermore—and especially in Bampfield's case—permanently besmirched.

Bampfield's and Smith's tales are tragic: the stories of two men who fall from the graces of leaders they once believed in; metonymically, their receding faith in the authority of the state tells us something about the public's own faith in the authority of government, divine or mortal. Bampfield and Smith each have histories that require justification, and their narratives attempt to explain the disjunction between their public actions and their individual motivations. Both employ a confessional form in order to clear their besmirched reputations and their narratives are also an attempt at reckoning with their subsequent pecuniary distresses. Second, the veracity of both authors' accounts (and, in one case, their very existence) has been questioned both by their contemporaries and by subsequent critics, and a common narratological trope of surveillance fiction is

that readers are forced to decide whether or not they find the authors' accounts plausible. The spy claims authority from proximity to power, and yet is deeply insecure about the fact that the very nature of his work means that he can rarely provide proof of this proximity. As the spies attempt to preempt these questions about their credibility, they instead reveal their powerlessness against the rising tide of history and bureaucracy.

While their activities as spies are worthy of study as both imaginative and historical records, where the narratives really shine—and where they mark themselves as ancestors to popular spy fiction—is in their portrayal of the spy's divided subjectivity. Bampfield's and Smith's conflicting accounts of their own subjectivities mirror Marana's self-conscious awareness that in living in disguise, he may lose access to what he imagines to be the stable core of his selfhood. While *Apology* and *Memoirs* detail fascinating historical moments—the end of the Civil Wars, in Bampfield's case, and, in Smith's, the 1696 Jacobite plot to assassinate King William—these narratives are finally records of self-surveillance, as the authors seek to set the record straight about their time in service and grapple with the implications of their brushes with power.

The surveying state of mind that Bampfield and Smith demonstrate would persist as a literary device in the secret histories and spy narratives of the 1720s, 30s, and 40s. It would also follow Bampfield and Smith in becoming increasingly concerned with the private life of the individual, interiority, and the economic realities, of lower and middle-class individuals rather than famous or aristocratic people. The effect of this de-professionalized spying was the emergence of an imagined subjectivity dependent on surveillance, and the impact of that surveillance on both the watcher and the watched. As I will discuss in the following chapter, Bampfield's and Smith's records of their own

internal lives contributed to the idea popularized in both periodicals such as Addison and Steele's *The Spectator* (1711-1713) and in the novel form, of a self-regulated and self-surveyed individual interiority separate from, and often wildly contradictory to, a public persona.

In the coming chapter, I will discuss how such self-surveillance adapted into narratives of social life and sociability, through the medium of urban spy narratives and print periodicals in the early decades of the eighteenth century. Readers of surveillance fictions were less concerned by the veracity of the spy's account than by his self-presentation as an underdog with access to the secrets of the rich and powerful. Although later surveillance fictions more explicitly emphasize class distinctions and interiority, they arise from the same impulse as the reading public's interest in accounts of the dizzy, conflicted, and unverifiable interior lives of spies such as Bampfield and Smith. Surveillance persists as a literary device in the secret histories and spy narratives of the mid- and late eighteenth century, which—as I discuss in Chapter Three—become increasingly concerned with lower and middle-class individuals as opposed to famous or aristocratic figures, and with the contrast between private lives and public behaviors. These later secret histories and spy narratives are preoccupied with self-regulating, self-surveying individuals and their relationship to power and money and also fascinated with both the interiority and the economic realities of lower- and middle-class people.


Figure 1. Isaac Oliver's "Rainbow Portrait" of Queen Elizabeth I (1600-1602).

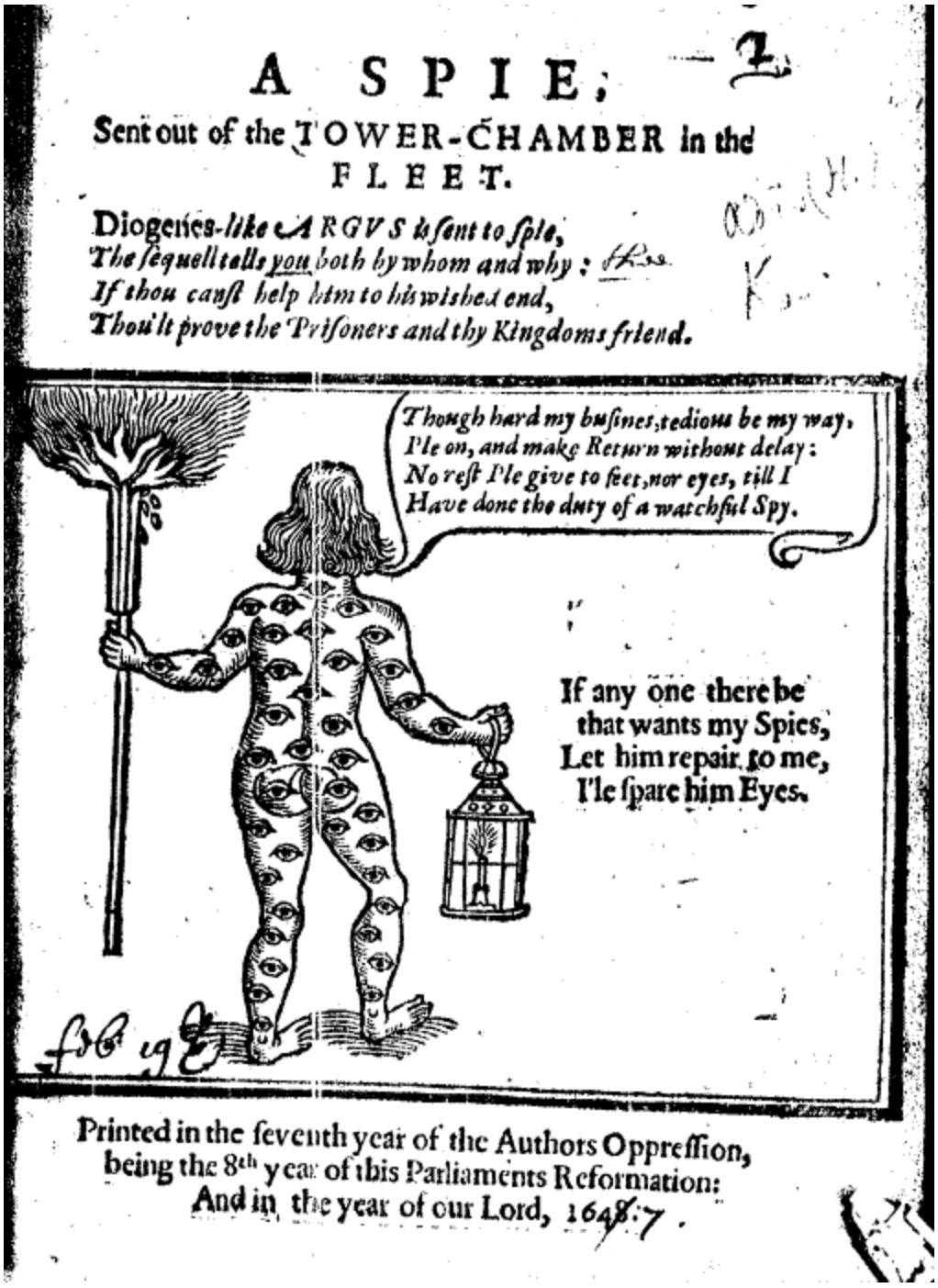


Figure 2. Frontispiece of Henry Adis's A Spie Sent Out of the Tower-Chamber in the Fleet (1648).

# Notes

[1] Smith's *Memoirs of Secret Services* consists of several separate documents with their own pagination: the initial *Memoirs*, and two appended documents called, respectively, *Reasons Why I Corresponded with Mr. John Hewet* and *A Short Account Of What I have Received From Mr. J. H., Nephew to Mr. Holmes*. For the sake of clarity, I make reference to which document I amdrawing from in my parenthetical citations from *Memoirs*. A citation from page 10 of *A Short Account* will be referenced as ("A Short Account" 10); a citation from page 10 of *Memoirs* will be reference as (*Memoirs* 10).

[2] The eighteenth-century spy's self-surveying, confessional impulse parallels a transformation in the very nature of British historiography. In the mid-seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, a "brisk market for authentic material" made narratives by former Civil War spies such as Joseph Bampfield**,** a Royalist whose loyalties during the Commonwealth were rather dubious, popular with readers who were interested in reading true accounts of the tumultuous last century (Kenyon, qtd. in Looser 13; see also Mayer). This genre of life writing was a way for people to process their experiences during the Civil Wars, Interregnum, and "Glorious Revolution," and to justify their own conduct during these periods.

[3] There are several possible reasons for this erroneous attribution: Manley may have confused *The Turkish Spy* with another of Roger Manley's section of *The History of the Turkish Empire* (1687). In accusing Robert Midgley, a Manley family friend and editor of the first volume of *The Turkish Spy*, of stealing her father's rightful credit, she may have been seeking retribution against Midgley for slighting her after her bigamous marriage.

Finally, she may have conflated the two titles to posthumously inflate her father's status as an author (and increase her own by association) (*A Political Biography of Delarivier Manley* 57).

[4] Geoffrey Smith, Michael Archer, and Daniel Szechi have all written critical histories of early modern espionage.

[5] Although his subjects pushed back against some elements of his absolutist self-presentation, as Paula Backscheider has demonstrated in her study of Charles II's use of theatricality and spectacle (*Spectacular Politics*, particularly "Men, Women, and Resistance" 33-58).

[6] According to Geoffrey Smith, the direct system of patronage in the secret service crumbled during the Civil Wars when Royalist forces were stymied by "the lack of a powerful and highly talented individual with the will and authority to control and direct their activities" (7). Royalist spies reported to Charles II's ministers, whose loyalty was sometimes questionable and who were spread across Europe. Far from a united, centralized force, Royalists were highly factionalized (9).

[7] Ironically, given that Charles I would never condone freedom of the press, "Royalist printers took advantage of the opportunity to print without restrictions and "from 1642-1660, the source of the most deliberately and consciously subversive publications was the royalist party" (Potter 3).

[8] The Star Chamber was terminated by the Long Parliament, which Charles I was forced to call in order to raise funds to fight the Scots, who had risen up against his attempt to impose a new Book of Common Prayer in 1637 (Raymond 312). In 1647, the Army

gained control of the press, which reverted to the state through an Act of Parliament in 1649, until the last years of the Commonwealth (Potter 4; Raymond 312). Prior to the Civil War, the Stationers' Company had held a monopoly on printed material, including "[p]rinting, distribution, the control of the press, punishments for disorderly conduct, the supply of paper, [and] remuneration for authors" (Raymond 313) and determined which materials were officially entered into the Stationers' Register, which merely verified that the registrar owned the copy of the work, and did not guarantee any form of copyright protection (314). For an extensive history of press controls in the Jacobean Age, see Cyndia Susan Clegg's *Press Censorship in Jacobean England* (2001), particularly "Authority, License, and Law: The Theory and Practice of Censorship" (20-67). For a discussion of the Stationers' Company's political and social position during the Civil War, see Ian Anders Gadd's "Were Books Different? The Stationers' Company in Civil War London, 1640-1645" in *Institutional Culture in Early Modern Society*, edited by Anne Goldgar and Robert I. Frost (35-60).

[9] It is also notable that the surveillance chronicle's association with women behaving badly goes back to some of its earliest roots; Royalist periodicals often had to be smuggled between London and Oxford in secret: copies of *Mercurius Aulicus*, the first official newsbook of the Royalist Party which began printing in 1643, were often trafficked in the skirts of "adventurous" women (Rayston, qtd in Potter 9).

[10] Because of the in-fighting, financial penury, and incompetence that can be traced to King Charles II's own failures as a leader, the development of a systemized Royalist spy network during the Civil Wars was largely a failure (Smith 238). While Oliver

Cromwell's Secretary of State John Thurloe was a centralizing figure for the Commonwealth government and partly responsible for the systemization of surveillance as a profession rather than a product of patronage, Royalist forces were stymied by "the lack of a powerful and highly talented individual with the will and authority to control and direct their activities" (Archer 7). Lacking a unifying authority figure, Charles I's Royalist spies reported to his highly factionalized ministers, who were spread across Europe and whose loyalty could be variable (9).

[11] At the same time, as Paul Scott Gordon points out, the idea of the sovereign as ever-present watcher still held some sway. Hobbes's *Leviathan* (1651), published two years after Charles I's execution, is a partial response to the brutal Civil War that had shattered England's longstanding monarchical government. Hobbes proposed to mend this rift with an alternative form of absolute government that also contained elements of a social contract. The Leviathan is not an arbitrary despot, but he does have absolutist tendencies grounded in surveillance; as Gordon notes, the Leviathan "functions as a permanent observer for whom subjects must tailor their conduct" (86).

[12] Licensing restrictions were again relaxed in 1696, although authors could still be prosecuted for seditious libel and treason. Downie has also noted that the restrictions were not deliberately repealed so much as allowed to expire with the expectation that they would be replaced with something more effective (7).

[13] In the second issue, the Spy eidolon offers to "tugge with that unmannerly, bawling court-curre, Aulicus," in reference to the official royalist newsbook, *Mercurius Aulicus* (9).

[14] Rebecca Bullard has argued that "tacking on," that is, adding layers upon layers of material, is a narratological trademark of secret histories. She particularly cites Defoe's multiple *White Staff* narratives (1714), which rapidly follow one another, with each one claiming to contain information that supersedes that of its predecessor ("Secret Histories Round Table").

[15] Although Royalist spies during the Civil Wars were not a particularly unified, nor particularly effective, force, Geoffrey Smith points out that the individual agents who populated the Civil War's underworld were "loyal, resourceful, and courageous" and "had to cope with often dangerous and discouraging situations." Unlike Elizabethan spies, who tended to be drawn from inner circles at court, Civil War spies came from among "the officers in the king's armies, captains and majors rather than generals, and among middle-ranking courtiers, drawn for example from the 'grooms' rather than the more aristocratic 'gentlemen' of the king's bedchamber" (Smith 3).

[16] However, Mahmut is ostensibly fictional in a way that Bampfield and Smith are not: both Bampfield and Smith go to great pains to inform their readers of how their stories can be verified, and both their narratives are a call for immediate vindication and financial compensation, while Mahmut's narrative actually ends with his mysterious disappearance (and he would later resurface in Defoe's *Continuation* of 1718).

[17]At the time of the *Apology*'s publication (which he probably funded on his own), Bampfield was an aging spy who had been forced into retirement and was living in poverty and exile in Friesland, a province in the northern Netherlands (*Apology* 28). Labeled a traitor to the Stuarts when after King Charles I's execution he became a spy for

Cromwell's Secretary of State, John Thurloe, he was wanted in England under the Bill of Attainder issued during the prosecutions subsequent to the Rye House Plot of 1683, and his safety in Holland was becoming increasingly precarious (25). John Loftis and Paul Hardacre, the editors of the only modern edition of Bampfield's *Apology*, rightly point out that the timing of Bampfield's publication, only a few months after James II's accession to the throne in February of 1685 and the same month as the execution of the Duke of Monmouth in 1685, seems designed to clear his name with King James II's court (26). Additionally, the Earl of Argyle had taken up residence in Friesland before his failed Argyle expedition that spring, and was a magnet for English exiles; Bampfield, who had worked for Argyle in the early 1650s, may well have feared being swept up in the crackdown surrounding the Duke's imprisonment and subsequent execution.

[18] Given these circumstances, it seems appropriate then that the *Apology* primarily details Bampfield's services to King Charles I, and is speckled with reminders to King James II of his services to his father. According to Loftis and Hardacre, the majority of the narrative was written while King Charles II was still on the throne, and is directed to that monarch; this goes a long way to explaining, for example, why Bampfield glosses over incidents during the Civil Wars which reflect poorly upon Charles I's leadership, as Charles II was known to be particularly sensitive to criticism of his father (106). However, the preface and the ending of the *Apology* were both written near the time of publications, when James II was on the throne. Additionally, an unpublished and probably destroyed manuscript referred to by Abraham de Wicquefort mentions a detailed account of Bampfield's masterful plot to bring the Duke of York out of England

which does not appear in the *Apology*, probably because the plot involved the man who was now king being un-regally hauled out of the country while wearing a dress (26).

[19] *History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England* is an attempt, based on classical models, to vindicate not only his life, but the soul of the previous age. As Philip Hicks points out, Clarendon is the model seventeenth-century classical historian:

> …the author was an aristocratic politician, a man of action now retired, who wrote a truthful account of contemporary politics and war for men of similar station. He described the great deeds of men and used his rhetorical skills to ensure that this description would be appealing enough to interest and reach posterity. His work was elevated, requiring authorial distance, and serious, embodying a program of political and moral instruction. ("Bolingbroke, Clarendon, and the Role of the Classical Historian" 447).

Clarendon began his *History* while exiled in France with the young Charles II, abandoned it for nearly twenty years, and then returned to it when he was banished from England in disgrace, never to return. Clarendon served Charles I faithfully until his execution, and then he guided his son during the hard years of exile on the Continent. A good part of *History of the Rebellion* is written as advice to Anne and future English monarchs. What makes the narrative so fascinating is Clarendon's unflagging devotion to the small details that can raise or lower the fortunes of nations. Despite some rather intense digressions, and some rather extensive self-praise, Clarendon's work succeeds in its attempt to offer a verifiable account of the Civil Wars. At the same time, his

descriptions of the people involved are often what modern readers would recognize as decidedly novelistic: he offers up a cast of characters, declaims their virtues and their faults, and tells their fates.

[20] Scholars have particularly drawn upon Lady Anne Halkett's *Memoirs* (1677-1678) and Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*. Bampfield and Halkett collaborated in planning and staging the removal of the Duke of York from England at Charles I's behest, which she elaborates upon in her *Memoirs*. Her accounts have contributed to history's view of Bampfield as a villainous traitor, as she elaborates upon her betrothal to Bampfield during their heady days of plotting and her feelings of betrayal when she learned that that Bampfield was already married. It is the record of this marriage, to Catherine Sydenham,[20] that refutes the Earl of Clarendon's erroneous identification of Bampfield as an Irishman named "Bamford" (like Bampfield, Clarendon wrote his account in exile, at a distance of many years) (*Apology* 155). The Bampfields and the Sydenhams were prominent families in the west of England, so the union must have seemed a good idea at the time, although it proved ultimately unhappy. Bampfield began his services to Charles I at the age of seventeen, as a colonel in the King's army, and married Catherine when he was no more than twenty years old (155). By at least 1645, around the time when Bampfield left the army less-than-honorably and began his personal service to Charles I, he and his wife were estranged. She died in 1657. Sydenham's family may have influenced Bampfield's reception in the army, which seems to have been fraught from the beginning. His father-in-law was a Royalist, but had

notoriously been tried for war crimes and banished to the Continent; as a result, his mother-in-law's income was reduced and the family's fortunes faltered (156).

[21] Henry Mordaunt, the 2nd Earl of Peterborough, who was arrested in 1696 on suspicion of treason, but released soon after, and died in 1676 (Stater, *ODNB*). Smith details his confusion when he is arrested on January 10th or 11th of 1697 and brought before the House of Lords where he is questioned about his relationship to "the Earl of Monmouth, the Dutchess of Norfolk, and the Lady Mary Fenwick, about affairs that I was in no way privy to, and what is more, are yet a secret to me" (25). The Duchess of Norfolk was Mordaunt's daughter, who married Henry Howard, the 7th Duke of Norfolk (Weil, *ODNB*). This is a reference to both Mordaunt's Jacobitism and another of the alleged-conspirators in the Assassination Plot, Sir John Fenwick, who offered inside information about the plot in exchange for a pardon, but was ultimately among those executed (Hopkins, "John Fenwick" *ODNB*).

Henry Mordaunt is not to be confused with his nephew and heir to the peerage of Peterborough, Charles Mordaunt, Earl of Monmouth, who was also the subject of a poem by his friend and correspondent Jonathan Swift, "To Charles Mordaunt, Earl of Peterborough," which both celebrates and satirizes him. John Macky describes Charles thusly: "He affects popularity, and loves to preach in coffee houses, and publick places; is an open enemy to revealed religion; brave in his person; hath a good estate; does not seem expensive, yet always in debt, and very poor" (66). Delarivier Manley, in typical disagreement with Macky, conversely praises him in the *New Atalantis* as the "Count of Valentia" (267-268), in deliberate contrast with the Duke of Marlborough (Kraft 69):

> His actions are no longer modern; they have the true air of the antique glory, when renown fired the breast of mortals and the universal love of mankind was their only regard: when to be a leader was understood as one of exposing himself with a willing bravery for the benefit of his followers, the spoil of the field equally divided, the hero reserving nothing to himself but the reputation of conquest. (268)

[22] Harley was named Earl of Oxford and Mortimer in 1711. The title of "Earl of Oxford" still technically belongs to the de Vere family, although there are no known male descendants of Aubrey Devere, the twentieth Earl of Oxford, who died in 1703.

# CHAPTER TWO: LICENSE TO SPILL: SURVEILLANCE NARRATIVES AND THE URBAN SPY

In the previous chapter, I looked at the ways in which Bampfield's *Apology* and Smith's *Memoirs* operate under varying forms of narrative paranoia: both authors believe themselves to have been unjustly singled out for persecution by powerful people as a consequence of their activities as secret agents. Bampfield and Smith introduce us to the idea that the spy, who watches and reports, is also implicated in the consequences of his reporting. In surveying other people, they also survey themselves and, in doing so, model self-surveillance for their readers. This chapter considers how this impulse toward self surveillance in secret histories and spy narratives responds to an increasingly urban context in the early decades of the eighteenth century, as evidenced by the emergence of a spy figure who in many ways precedes nineteenth-century peripatetic writing and the Victorian *flâneur*, citizen perambulator. Unlike the *flâneur*, this spy figure is not himself an object of spectacle but an access point for the reader and a mouthpiece for the author. This distinction between the spy and the *flâneur* is a crucial one: the peripatetic eighteenth-century spy attempts to blend into his surroundings in order to gain information, while the nineteenth-century *flâneur* is himself a mobile spectacle.

In the first section of this chapter, I will introduce what I call urban spy narratives: early eighteenth-century fictions of surveillance driven by this peripatetic spy. Here I examine an anonymous text called *The Town Spy* (1725) by "a German Gentleman,"

which is written in the vein—albeit concisely—of Edward Ward's *The London Spy* (1698-1700), the proto-text of eighteenth-century urban surveillance fictions. The urban spy, I argue, informed the creation of Addison and Steele's *The Spectator*, and forges a strong link between the early eighteenth-century periodical and the figure of the eighteenth-century spy. I will consider what this urban spy figure can tell us about eighteenth-century sociability, particularly the relationship between class and power, in order to suggest that these narratives' portrayals of the conspiratorial nature of urban life have a marked effect on later spy narratives' and secret histories' concern with portraying lower- and middle-class people (coming out of the closet, as it were).

That *The Town Spy* and similar narratives continued to be printed throughout the eighteenth century demonstrates continuing interest on the part of readers about what type of urban connectivity among the lower classes looks like: it looks like wave upon wave of conspiracy. According to Straub, "a defining feature of the connectivity of urban life is that "in town, growing numbers of domestics could communicate with each other more easily than in the country" (7). While early secret histories portray the conspiracies at work in the upper echelons of society, urban spy narrators add the dimension of lower-class conspiracy. In doing so, the urban spy sets himself—and his reader—apart from these conspiracies.

Conspiracies, formed and executed in private, are brought to light when they have public effects. In terms of eighteenth-century surveillance, a conspiracy could be an assassination plot, a stock market bubble, or even a private person's decision to hide their true self from everyone else (with conduct manuals as guides). It is this last aspect of conspiracy that becomes ever more entangled in surveillance fictions. *The Town Spy*

makes a point of de-mystifying the creation of newspapers and periodicals in order to show readers the artificiality behind the press, which inflates the importance of certain stories and ignores others. By revealing this artificiality, the Town Spy sets himself apart from it. He precedes Mr. Spectator in defining himself in part by what he does *not* do: he does not—or so he claims—participate in the crush of Grub street periodicalists determined to beat one another to the latest scoop. His intelligence should be trusted, is the implicit claim, because, unlike most newspapers, it does not have an overt political bent.

Through the very act of revelation (and even if the revelation itself is not strictly new) the narratives send signals to us about what *should* be kept private. For Mr. Spectator, who presents himself as politically neutral and works to distance himself from what he sees as bad behavior on the part of both the upper and the lower classes, the idea of surveillance was not strictly limited to recording visual observations for public amusement or instruction, but also required that the surveyor "read" into what he surveys, and apply his own powers of perceptive analysis to the information (Powell 260). Mr. Spectator both interprets for his readers and attempts to teach them to interpret according to the standards of taste and behavior for which he advocates. In doing so, he makes a claim for how a person can use both surveillance and self-surveillance to create their own social reality. Although the idea of privacy is, in the eighteenth century, more of a theoretical concept than a physical reality for most people, surveillance narratives add a new dimension to the idea of a private life because they go through the trouble of claiming to reveal what private lives "look like." Through surveillance, people can learn

from their social models, and through self-surveillance they can execute what they have learned in their presentation of themselves.

In the final section of this chapter, I build upon this idea of self-surveillance to show how insider accounts of court life in secret histories and spy narratives in the early eighteenth century reflect, and sometimes spar with, these ideas about public and private forms of subjectivity presented in urban spy narratives and in *The Spectator*. To do so, I study a relatively unknown spy narrative, John Macky's *Memoirs of the Secret Services of John Macky* (1730). As the writer of a surveillance narrative revealing the mechanical workings of the erstwhile divinely-ordained state, Macky had a great deal in common with Joseph Addison, a career administrator and government secretary, playwright, and the co-creator of Mr. Spectator. Macky was a Whig-leaning career spy for Robert Walpole, and so familiar with the figures at King William's and Queen Anne's court that he was able to make an extensive list of their characteristics, their family connections, their treatment under William and then under Anne, and, most amusingly, their personal foibles. His narrative is highly committed to the surveillance and revelation of the private lives of public figures. Both *The Spectator* and *Memoirs of the Secret Services of John Macky* show the literal removal of the power of surveillance from the monarch and its distribution, for better or worse (depending on the author), among administrators—such as Addison—who usually profit from it materially. Their readers, meanwhile, benefit from the dispersal of power their surveillance affords them.

## The Urban Spy

As the secret history and spy narrative developed throughout the eighteenth century, serve as a link between narratives that otherwise seek to distance themselves

from one another, whether the figure of the spy is the detached, urban, and urbane witness that Mr. Spectator purports to be, or someone more overtly entangled in his observations. The urban spy narrator is both a stand-in for the reader and an exemplary figure, modelling appropriate—and sometimes suffering the consequences of inappropriate—urban behaviors. He most presents himself as an outsider figure; this outsider is a key figure in spy narratives from *The Turkish Spy* to Montesquieu's *Persian Letters* (1721). The narrator sees and experiences things that may be familiar to the reader—the streets of Paris and London, a church service, a play or musical performance, a visit to a coffee house—and describes these experiences to the reader in a such a way as to defamiliarize them. Usbek in *Persian Letters* announces that, "I spend my life observing, and in the evening I record what I have noted, and seen, and heard, during the day; I find everything interesting, everything astonishing; I am like a child whose still-tender organs are keenly affected by the most trivial objects" (59). These "trivial objects" are in many ways markers of the formal realism that Ian Watt attributes to Defoe, Richardson, and Fielding, and they function in the surveillance narrative as a way for familiar readers to feel like "insiders" and as access points for satisfying their curiosity about dangerous, forbidden, or private spaces.

The spy's international focus (influenced by Civil War life writing and the "Glorious Revolution") narrows to the city streets in the early decades of the eighteenth century with the introduction of the urban spy, who becomes particularly associated with London, just as the Victorian detective will be more than a century later. The urban spy narrative has a precursor in international narratives such as *The Turkish Spy*, which is particularly preoccupied with the vagaries of Mahmut's daily life in Paris, and in early

true-life accounts by English spies; Matthew Smith's *Memoirs*, for instance, employs geographical specificity that would have resonated with readers familiar with London's topography and coffeehouse culture. Smith meets Secretary Vernon at Backstairs in White Hall, for instance, and directs his letters to the Green House in Scotland Yard. Some of his traversals are economically motivated: in one plea for money, he claims that "To be a better husband, I have walked from one end of the Town to the other, having one company in Holborn, one in the City, one at Charing-Cross, and another in Picadilly" (76-77). Because of its contemporaneity (the narrative appeared only four years after the Assassination Plot), readers would have been familiar with the places Smith describes, and may have even frequented such locations themselves.

The urban spy narrator is part of the project of defamiliarization central to Enlightenment ethnography, but also fully implicated in that which he surveys. In contrast with Mr. Spectator's detached observations and Mahmut's cultural and religious alienation from his surroundings, the urban spy offers information to the reader through accounts of his direct participation in city life: such spies go on mad, drunken romps and join in pub sing-a-longs; they catalogue and critique but are also susceptible to the temptations of their environment. Like secret histories of this period, urban spy narratives are deeply imbricated in the urban geography of meeting places such as coffee houses and inns (which are themselves deeply politicized), neighborhoods and streets associated with particular forms of commerce, such as Exchange Alley, and the types of citizens unique to urban life (particularly middle- and under-class people such as tradespeople, stockjobbers, merchants, coachmen, apprentices, and prostitutes). The urban spy narrative usually seeks to expose the seedy underbelly of the town in both expected and

unexpected ways: readers are invited to experience intimacy with a large cross-section of society and are supposedly given access to the secret life of the town. Additionally, as we shall see in *The Town Spy*, the complicated and controversial wars of the early decades of the eighteenth century also provided authors with fodder for the idea that spies lurked among ordinary citizens, particularly in the form of servants, who could be French double agents, spying on their aristocratic employers.

Urban spy narratives operate under the assumption that London is a hotbed of competing cultures best navigated through someone "in the know," like your faithful narrator. Thus, the urban spy narrator is generally slightly more savvy than his reader, but often undergoes the process of discovering the urban scene alongside his reader: his store of knowledge is not broad enough to be alienating. Spy narratives of the "town" give readers an opportunity to confirm social and political stereotypes and create new ones. They familiarize country readers with the scandal and debauchery that goes on in urban centers. They also localize and particularize narrative in a way that will be familiar to readers of the mid-eighteenth- and nineteenth-century novel. The spy's perambulation around London can be readily mapped and followed by the curious reader; modern readers might also remember both Clarissa Harlowe's tragic trajectory into the heart of the city (which then, according to Wendy Lee, becomes Clarissa's only experience of liberation, as it paradoxically provides her with privacy, anonymity, and the freedom to write [Lee 60])[1] and Clarissa Dalloway's journey of internal self-discovery.

The eighteenth-century urban spy is in many ways an ancestor of the Victorian *flâneur* and that figure's younger cousin, the Victorian detective. According to Baudelaire, "The detective as a specialist who unravels criminal mysteries expresses a

wish fulfillment shared by all of us, to be able to know or to read just a few things very well, like clues, but through reading them very well to penetrate the deepest mysteries of life" (17). The detective's super-vision—his ability to apply his specialized knowledge of urban spaces—is what qualifies him as a surveyor and as an emblem of the city. Like the detective, the urban spy knows his milieu well enough to penetrate its mysteries: he is a specialist in its geography, topography, and anthropology, and acts as a guide to the mystified, the lost, and the perplexed reader in unraveling the secrets of a place. Brigid Brophy's point that "detective fiction and modernity are roughly coeval" could be extended to the urban spy figure, with the caveat that Brophy would disagree, as she believed that "the detective s could not have been invented in the (to us) age of fancy dress. The detective quintessentially wears trousers" (11). At the same time, she associates the detective with "the eighteenth-century spirit" of Enlightenment empiricism and "in carrying elegantly a veneer at least of both arts and sciences" (21), a spirit to which both Mr. Spectator and the urban spy lay claim through their ostensibly rational and sense-based methodologies. Rather than being traumatized by urban crowds, as in the case of so many Victorian writers,[2] the eighteenth-century urban surveillance chronicler mingles with and even enjoys them. It is more important for him to maintain his outsider status—whether of a renegade or a neutral observer—than to become a spectacle himself; as we shall see in Chapter Three, this becomes increasingly difficult as the century progresses.

*The Town Spy* is a microcosmic travel narrative, in which our eponymous spy-narrator circulates through the various parishes of London. Throughout his perambulations, he associates the characters of the people he encounters with the places

he visits. Mapping *The Town Spy* in modern times is a difficult task because so many of the parishes have since merged with one another or ceased to exist. The difficulty of this endeavor thus brings *The Town Spy*'s contemporaneity to the fore, as does the fact that many of the parish churches to which the Spy refers had burned down in the Great Fire of 1666 and had only recently been re-built (most by Christopher Wren). Like Eliza Haywood's *Bath Intrigues* (examined in further detail in Chapter Three), *The Town Spy*, then, is a fresh take on a city that was changing so rapidly that new travel guides for the steady influx of visitors and transplants were required all the time.

Urban spy narratives also testify to people's anxieties about changing urban demographics, especially in light of England's rapidly expanding economy and particularly the fact that stock-trading and the creation of the Bank of England had made expansive wealth possible for people who previously would never have had access to social or financial mobility. Taking readers on a tour of famous London neighborhoods, the Town Spy exposes the underbelly of London's rapidly changing social hierarchies, upending ideas about the difference prostitutes and wealthy citizens, doctors, lawyers, stockjobbers, and merchants. Far from simply opining on these subjects, the Spy reveals the inner social and economic workings of an entire city, exposing it as a complicated network of alliances between haves, have-nots, and those in between stations. His tour of the city is not so much a class-leveling exercise as a chance for readers to learn the new rules of the game. Servants play a large role in his account, particularly in terms of the information that they collect on behalf of the people they work for (for a price). The narrative is most especially interested in those who trade in information, and information often comes as a result of carefully cultivated relationships with the serving classes. The

Town Spy's account shows London as a hotbed of possibility for interchange between classes, which, of course, made a great many people nervous. As Straub argues, eighteenth-century urban culture offered economic alternatives to servitude such as prostitution and criminality (7). Cities, therefore, posed a threat to the paradigm of domestic service as an affective rather than a transactional relationship, not only because urban environments offered other means of employment but also because those other means tended to be highly visible professions that were simple to join—prostitutes and pickpockets require no characters. Urban environments also allow the serving classes to see more of one another: communication between servants about their employers meant that gossip and rumors passed much more freely throughout the city than in the country (indeed, the gossiping servant is a common trope of Restoration comedies). This ease of communication also created the potential for conspiracies between servants from various households who would never have encountered one another outside of the city (7). Hence Mr. B's concern that Pamela is spying on him, when spying in *Pamela* actually goes both ways and serves Mr. B's purposes quite nicely.

*The Town Spy* intimates that servant-spies are embedded in nearly every household and have been since at least the War of Spanish Succession, when the "Industry of that [French] court was such that its agents found means to corrupt the valets and footmen of our prime nobility" (6). Not only are the underclasses assumed to be "corrupt," but they are also potentially embedded double agents—what would be called "sleeper agents" in the parlance of modern intelligence services—who have thus far been responsible for all intelligences regarding the recent wars with France and regarding the Jacobite court in exile (6-7). (This theory bears relationship to David Jones's *The Secret*

*History of Whitehall* [1697], discussed below, featuring an English spy embedded in the French court.) Additionally, as the narrative goes on to show, these agents have been deploying their intelligences over the past decade for their own personal gain: as Daniel Defoe fears in *The Secret History of the Management of the Scepter* (1715, also discussed below), once the power of surveillance passes into someone's hands, it is impossible to wrest it back (citation). *The Town Spy* undermines the affective ideal of the servant-master relationship not only by reducing it to a bond based on remuneration but by turning the power dynamic upside down through surveillance, blackmail, and (sometimes sexual) profiteering. All of which would have already been familiar to readers of secret histories; however, the distinction is that the conspirators in this case are the lower- and middle-classes, although the upper class is certainly not exempt from satire. This distinction gestures to the genre's particular interest in the lower- and middle-classes in the 1720s and 1730s.

The Town Spy takes the trouble to describe a typical aristocrat for the benefit of his readers, and the description is notable for the emphasis it places on the nobility's surveyed bodies and on their ignorance about the nature of their relationships with their own domestics:

> The quality, who fly out here with their sumptuous equipages, imagine themselves to be the admiration of the vulgar sort. On the contrary, they are the only objects of their ridicule, they being too well acquainted with their most private affairs. Most of the quality judging themselves secure, in their more secret vices, from the seeming ignorance of those about 'em; when it is notorious, that a louring [*sic*], awkardly [*sic*] fellow with a West

> Country countenance, whom no body would suspect no more than the Devil, shall carry off the whole conversation of a tea table, and report it verbatim to half the ale-houses in town. (5-6)

The humor here lies in the fact that all these "sumptuous equipages" are being driven by footmen who are spreading their employers' secrets to all and sundry in London's many public spaces. Any "louring, awkardly fellow with a West Country countenance" has more power than the "quality" because he has access to information about his employer's private affairs. The aristocracy makes amusing fodder for narrative (and surely this is partly because of the incredible amount of newly-moneyed people whose coaches cluttered the streets of London in the early eighteenth century). But the presence of aristocracy in surveillance narratives also tells a separate s about how these narratives are transmitted: in surveillance narratives, the person with the information and the means to transmit it is more powerful than the person with the "sumptuous equipage."[3] Wealth and status does not necessarily equate to power, and sometimes leaves a person vulnerable to exploitation by his ostensible social and economic inferiors.

The Town Spy's awareness that the Postal Service is monitored adds another dimension to his discussion of the surveillance of the quality. The Post is a constant source of salacious information about the sexual mores of the upper classes: "A man of quality's letters to a matron on the subject of a girl, or to his mistress are frequently exposed to one third of the parish before they reach directions," the Town Spy claims. Robert Harley's secret department within the Postal Service was already running smoothly by this time, but the Town Spy asserts that Harley's is not the only outfit going through the mail[4]: separate divisions of servants looking for good blackmail material are

"capable to furnish material for a new *Atalantis*" with the knowledge they uncover from the mail (6). This material does not just extend to the aristocracy's "secret vices," but, as the Town Spy goes on to detail, encroaches upon the world of war, politics, and Jacobite intrigue as well: the Treaty of Utrecht, for example, "was publickly talked of in the late Lord Boling—ke's kitchen, long before Monsieur Mesnager landed with the preliminaries at Dover" (6). In other words, domestic surveillance is a fact of life that has come home to roost as a result of the last decades of political intrigue; furthermore, domestic surveillance in a sense undergirds and safeguards the entire nation.

This is an updated riff on earlier secret histories' dedication to unraveling the intensely-wound networks of politicians behind various machinations in affairs of state; here the lower and middling classes prove themselves just as adept at such machinations, at the expense of their aristocratic employers. "Lord Boling---ke's kitchen" also alludes to a distinctly feminized, yet semi-public space, suggesting that female servants perform a crucial and specialized service in relaying information from the kitchen to the world at large. Secret histories and spy narratives tend to use women to argue for the existence of conspiracy both "as the perfect cover for masculine identification [with duplicity]," as Tassie Gwilliam argues (14). As Ballaster notes, "Repeatedly in this period of intense party political conflict we find the figure of the woman functioning as a means of constructing an ideal model of the male political agent, whether she stands as his opposite or his ideal" (*Seductive Forms* 40). In urban spy narratives, moreover, representations of female conspiracy were a way for men to process fears about women's sexuality; this is particularly true in the case of female domestic servants who were subject to "relentless sexualization" (34) in the popular imagination, because their chastity is a theoretical

condition of their employment and yet, in reality, an improbable expectation and one that could result in the termination of their status as servants (35).[5]

The discourse of specialized knowledge around women's bodies is a crucial aspect of surveillance literature, and it is usually marked by male suspicion. The Town Spy is skeptical of how women have allegedly coopted power by proclaiming themselves in charge of domestic matters. In the classical period, alleges the Spy, "sovereignty in domesticks" was a means through which women "refined to cuckold their husbands" (56). In this, the Spy precedes Bannet's analysis of matriarchal ideology:

> Matriarchs imagined a family in which the patriarchal governor of the domestic hierarchy had been surreptitiously supplanted by a wife who understood that she had but to "give the Lords of Creation the appearance of supremacy" to rule them as she would, and who exercised her power over her children and domestics as a capable mother-governess. (3-4)

The matriarchal lineage Bannet discusses (and which includes such writers as Mary Astell, Hannah More, Maria Edgeworth, and Jane West), arises from Lockean contract theory in the wake of the Glorious Revolution:

> What [the Matriarchs] found particularly instructive about the new social contract was the way the Revolutionary settlement had dealt with the abusive power of absolute monarchs: it had formally left the sovereign in place at the top of the sociopolitical hierarchy, while gradually transferring increasingly significant portions of his power, and of the actual government of the country, to his parliamentary vice-regents.

> In rewriting the little society of the family, the Matriarchs did much the same thing. They left fathers and husbands as nominal sovereigns at the top of the domestic hierarchy, while transferring increasingly significant portions of their power and of the actual government of the family to mothers and wives. (52-53)

As we shall see below in discussion of Defoe's *The Secret History of the Management of the Scepter* and in *The Spectator*, the diffusion of monarchical powers following the Glorious Revolution was a subject of constant concern in surveillance narratives as authors argued about where exactly these powers should be placed now that they were out of the hands of the monarch.

The Town Spy picks up on the diffusion of power at the level of the family. If he seems to mock women for their rather blatant strategies and sometimes frivolous behavior, he also seriously engages with the issue of women's suffering at the hands of men and thus the necessity for women—especially lower class women—to have some control over their situations. He suggests that women constantly collude in taking power away from men secretly, but he does not altogether disagree with them for doing so. He seems to admire rather than condemn them for this, making a special point of drawing attention to women who have turned the social contract on its head by bamboozling or cuckolding men. His sympathy for women is not unlike his wry, but admiring, portrayal of the subversive Irish Society of Fortune Hunters; he writes from the perspective of someone similarly disenfranchised.

A further example illustrates the delicate and profitable relationship between intelligence, print, and capital. The parish of St. Anne Blackfryers and St. Andrew

Wardrobe, the Town Spy tells us, is "the source of all our publick intelligence"—that is, the home of several periodicals and weekly journals, including the Jacobite *Mist's Weekly Journal* (32). Here "one half of the parishioners are wholly employ'd in collecting furniture for these papers" (31). Others are busy manufacturing quarrels between themselves in order to increase readership. What a publisher wants most, the Spy tells us, is for one of his publications to be "order'd to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman" because nothing is so certain to increase revenues, although "[a] warrant now and then from the Secretary's office is a singular advantage to a young beginner" (32). If a particular publication isn't selling well, publishers will "report that an army of messengers is in pursuit of the author," a tactic sure to boost sales (32). By revealing these strategies to the reader, the Town Spy acknowledges that much intelligence is manufactured through artificial means designed to increase circulation of newspapers, periodicals, and political pamphlets. This is a form of meta-commentary in a narrative that purports to reveal the unseen workings of London society and economy. Here, the Town Spy is delivering on his promise of inside information and at the same time, setting his own work apart from those publications originating from St. Anne Blackfryers/St. Andrew Wardrobe.

Besides its concern with international affairs and print journalism, *The Town Spy* also presents an elaborate inside view of secret societies that consist not of political high-rollers, but of middle- and working-class professionals seeking to advance themselves by any means necessary. At this moment, there was something of a rage for publications—particularly secret histories—about secret societies, both political and esoteric in nature, including, for example, the Freemasons and the Calves Head Club. One society known to

the Town Spy consists of an elaborate network, devised by the burial houses of London, which pays doctors' servants for information about aristocratic patients' various maladies on a sliding scale from apoplectic fit (sixpence) to smallpox (one shilling) to death (five shillings) (22-23). Indeed, the Town Spy tells us, "I take the business of a dead-monger to differ little from that of a newsmonger, as depending in a very great measure upon intelligence" (22). When such a death occurs, the burial houses pay a fee to be among the first to know and potentially profit from the business of burial (their work is akin to that of modern day ambulance-chasing lawyers and morticians) (23). Thus, *The Town Spy* shows an elaborate—hopefully fictional, but certainly plausible—cabal dedicated to increasing profits rather than to meddling in affairs of state. In this regard, it is the fulfillment of Bernard Mandeville's cynical response to capitalism in the early eighteenth century in *The Fable of the Bees* (1723): society, and particularly cities, are supported by vice.

The Irish Society of Fortune Hunters is a satirical version of such charitable groups as the Society for the Reformation of Manners; the Town Spy makes fun of the Merrytails and Shamelesses of the world while also suggesting that such charitable causes as Society for the Reformation of Manners are entirely self-interested endeavors. The effectiveness of secret societies such as the Irish Society of Fortune Hunters in *The Town Spy* is the more engaging because it throws the futile efforts of ostensibly moral, and highly regulated, charitable organizations into relief, mocking their efforts to regulate public behavior by implying that they can barely regulate their own. The Society for the Reformation of Manners, according to the Town Spy's insider-information, has already spent so much money attempting to reform the women of the pleasure in Drury Lane that

it could instead have outfitted a fleet that would have "conquer'd the Spanish West Indies" (13-14). However, in ironic contrast with the Society for the Reformation of Manners, the Irish Society of Fortune Hunters is an extremely well-organized and highly effective outfit that holds quarterly meetings in the Parish of St. Paul in Covent Garden. Town Spy includes a copy of their latest resolutions for our reading pleasure (15-19). These minutes include sophisticated shorthand for heiresses—one is described as "a six thousand pounder" (15)—and a well-organized and judiciously administered system of voting.

The Irishness of the Irish Society of Fortune Hunters explicitly positions this group as a potentially dangerous collective who might work to undermine English social and economic interests—and this is precisely the nature of their activities, in that by duping heiresses, they are vicariously robbing wealthy English men of their estates. In proclaiming their Irishness, they set themselves up as a network that is a viable alternative to English society. The Society for the Reformation of Manners has little hope of reforming the prostitutes on Drury Lane, but if their meeting minutes are any indication, the Irish Society of Fortune Hunters will be running Drury Lane—and commanding its considerable economic assets— in short order. This is a radical and innovative move on the part of the Irish that seems designed to call attention to the poverty of the Irish at the hands of the English, which Swift would later address in *A Modest Proposal* (1729).

The Society does more than help destitute men entrap unsuspecting heiresses; it also functions as a neighborhood association and a symbol of Irish subversion—a sort of mafia, to make an unflattering but apt comparison—in that it collects regular payments

from interested parties in return for a guarantee of protection in times of distress (some of these tithes take the form of percentages of the unsuspecting heiress's marriage portion [16]). One of the petitioners mentioned in the minutes of the Irish Society's quarterly meeting is a prostitute named Mary Merrytail who "hath for many year past duly paid an annual sum to this society, for a safeguard to protect her in the free exercise of her function" (19). Mary writes to the Society from prison at Bedlam, where she requests "monies and testimonies" to secure her release. The Society duly dispatches the Committee for Characters to a magistrate to certify Mary's character and makes a fallback plan for Captain Shameless to pretend to be her husband if that doesn't work (19). There is, it seems, honor among thieves, in that Mary and her sisters-in-crime can expect evenhanded treatment from this band of renegades, even if she is shunned by polite society. Here the Town Spy sends a pointed message to readers about the existence of secret cabals among the lower classes that exist to conspire on one another's behalf; the news that fortune-hunters and prostitutes have banded together is both alarming—readers might have included their potential victims—and intriguing. The Irish Society of Fortune Hunters both plays on fears about conspiracies among the lower orders, and questions the social structure that apparently leaves men and women little means of social or economic progress if they do not engage in duplicitous conspiracies.

Most of the information gleaned from surveillance in *The Town Spy* is usually used for a particular purpose, whether for fomenting or preventing rebellions or making a few shillings in the burial trade. However, some information that the Spy comes by is of a more esoteric nature, and feeds readers' interests in folk knowledge and the supernatural. At the same time as his awareness of local folklore shores up the Town Spy's claim to the

title of urban expert, his depiction of the supernatural reveals the limits—and perhaps the limits of the value—of the Town Spy's knowledge. For example, the Town Spy's description of Long Margery, the ghost of (largely Catholic) St. Margaret's Parish, mocks Catholicism for inundating its followers with superstitious nonsense, but at the same time he seems almost obsequious when it comes to the matter of Long Margery's patronage of women in childbirth. The Spy makes sure to register his disdain for the fear that people in the parish have of staying out at night in case they encounter her (1), however, he does not seem so disdainful towards what she represents: "The particular office of this ghost is to visit the dead of women in child-bed only" (2). Long Margery shrieks three times to indicate that a woman will not survive childbirth, and if the midwife or nurse says she heard this shrieking, then the woman's husband should immediately begin preparations for a funeral (2). Long Margery won't appear in the "official" histories of St. Margaret's Parish, but the Town Spy considers her a local figurehead, and uses this story of female superstition as a way of explaining the character of the entire parish. It is particularly significant that St. Margaret is the patron saint of women in childbirth; Margery is a name extrapolated from Margaret and thus Long Margery is a twisted variant of her sainted namesake. There is no indication that the Town Spy disbelieves Long Margery's existence, anymore than he scoffs at the idea of being afraid of her. Although there is no mockery in his description of the ghost *per se*, there is an element of pleasure in being the owner and conveyer of this supernatural, highly specialized (and highly localized, as it applies only to women in St. Margaret's Parish) information (you heard it here first).

The Spy's criticism of "the man's old charter, to enjoy her, and abandon her at will" also raises the plight of the abused woman, and seems to suggest that despite the

clever examples punctuating this narrative, women still suffer from a decidedly raw deal (56). Long Margery, for instance, literally screams about the plight of women. The Town Spy's other examples take the form of several small, inset narratives, many of which would be expanded by later authors into the domestic novel, such as Samuel Richardson's *Pamela* (1740). For instance, the Spy relates the story of a woman with such a delicate sense of propriety that she leaves the room at a mention of a petticoat—think of Pamela blushing at Mr. B's gift of silk stockings (19)—but has no qualms about having it off with a Colonel Strongback. That the same woman who acts "as tho' she thought the glance of your eye the prelude to a rape" is "as willing to strip at noonday, as a guardian is to cheat his ward" prefigures the *Pamela* controversy, and confirms that Richardson's tale picks up on contemporary concerns—and jokes—about potential eroticism within the relationships between female domestic servants and their male employers, and the duplicity of said servants (46).[6]

It is most relevant that immediately before relating the story of Strongback and his paramour, the Town Spy has been wandering through the parish of St. James at Clerkenwell and comments that most of the women "are observed to wear black and blue eyes, with swell'd faces" because their husbands are known to "treat them in the same tender and respectful manner as they do their cattle" (41). The juxtaposition of the lighthearted story of a woman who enjoys sex and is smart enough to know that the best way to get it is to pretend to prudery and the image of a neighborhood of women with swollen faces "owing to their too great volubility of speech" (41) tells us that the Town Spy has a great deal of sympathy for women's unfair and uncertain lot, and many of the bawdy stories he tells about them also demonstrate his respect for their cleverness and

vim. As Gwilliam points out with regards to Richardson's *Pamela*, feminine duplicity and femininity are so entwined that they can hardly be conceived of separately (21). The Town Spy acknowledges that women are called upon to be duplicitous in their behavior, whether they want to or not; deceit is, after all, the very basis of conduct manuals which call upon ideal to perform the appearance of feminine virtue; whether she actually possesses such virtue is a matter of secondary importance.

By reveling in stories of trickery between the sexes, *The Town Spy* illustrates one of Dror Wahrman's central points about gender relations in the early and mid-eighteenth century; according to Wahrman, "the category of gender…for most of the eighteenth century was still allowed some of the fluidity of culture, before being reconfigured toward the end of the century in a tight one-to-one correspondence with sex" (129). Prior to the more rigid stratification of gender roles in the late-eighteenth century relations between the sexes were by no means egalitarian, but that there was room for exceptions to the norm and these exceptions could be greeted with curiosity and enjoyment rather than disdain or revulsion. Even the Town Spy's invented account of a woman's expenditures using her pin money, which is meant to castigate her for frivolity, is delivered in the spirit of gratifying curiosity and of fascination with what goes on behind closed doors; the ledger includes lotion, almond paste, and "Italian toys," i.e. dildos (59), rather than a desire to impugn or malign women as vicious and disgusting (in contrast to Swift's *The Lady's Dressing Room*). Although, as Tita Chico notes, the lady's dressing room would become something of a shrine to maternity, contemplation, and education by the end of the eighteenth century, at the point at which the Town Spy is writing, private spaces for women are linked to "the dangers of women's sexuality and independence,

predominantly in satire" (26). In The Town Spy's case, however, women's bodies and women's spaces are objects of curiosity and surveying them is gratifying and even scintillating, rather than disgusting. The Town Spy—like Mahmut—seems to recognize that women must be duplicitous in order to survive, and he records their duplicity for entertainment, with a note of admiration, unlike later eighteenth-century writers who would use such duplicity as an excuse to mock or malign women. The Town Spy also suggests that women are exemplary at managing their multiple public and private selves.

A decade after the publication of *The Town* Spy, another urban periodical, *The Spectator*, attempts to contest the type of imbrication and identification with his subjects that the Town Spy demonstrates, instead purporting to instruct and model ideal behavior while claiming a political neutrality that does not bear out in practice. The following section provides some brief background about the relationship between surveillance culture and the formation of the periodical in order to underpin specific arguments that the spy figure cultivated by the early eighteenth-century periodical reified the figure of the urban spy, but also raised new questions about the relationship between spying and gender.

## Periodicals, Secret Histories, and Surveillance

Readers began to understand themselves both as private individuals and as social beings partly because of the increasing influence of the periodical in the early eighteenth-century. Periodicals at the turn of the eighteenth century were also in conversation with the surveying impulses behind secret histories and spy narratives. As Manushag Powell has noted, "public (professional) writing means being open to a constant process of circulating the experience of private subjectivity for public consumption through the

language of spying and overhearing" (257). Some secret historians, notably Daniel Defoe (who was also, of course, a spy), Delarivier Manley, and Eliza Haywood, wrote for periodicals at various points in their careers, and almost all periodical writers shared secret historians' concern with how knowledge creates power.

Periodicals' increased popularity during the early years of the eighteenth century can be traced to the wake of the Glorious Revolution's destabilization of England's absolutist monarchy and the shifting financial landscape of the early Empire. During the Civil War, "Ideological conflict exposed politics to debate, weakening the grip of notions of secrets of state" (Raymond 315). For Lawrence E. Klein, *The Spectator* and Addison's other periodicals are defined as Whig-leaning documents because they position themselves as filling the void left by the surveying eyes of the all-knowing monarch. Addison's work "shifted moral authority from traditional institutions (the Monarchy and the Church) to a new model of civil society with its own authorities" (110). Daniel Defoe's *The Secret History of the State Intrigues in the Management of the Scepter* (1715)[7] is a reflection on this diffusion of monarchical power and how the practicalities of such diffusion were themselves hotly contested. Defoe divides this power into three parts: military might—or, as Defoe puts it, "executive power," symbolized by the sword; "majesty," symbolized by the crown; and administration, symbolized by the scepter. The last of these, Defoe argues, is "the most essential part of the monarch" (5), because it "administer[s] all the parts of civil government in times of peace" (4). However, the scepter is capable of corrupting anyone who wields it without being worthy; that is, without being a monarch.

Defoe's secret history traces the trajectory of the scepter over the reigns of the last few English monarchs, beginning with that of Charles II. Defoe describes the scepter as though it is an object that can be passed from person to person, but also as a metaphor for authority that is not so easily transmitted. His point is that when government ministers gain this particular power—either through intrigue or through the monarch's own mismanagement—it diminishes the authority of the monarchy and results in the development of party factions jostling for power and favor.

Defoe is quite specific about what exactly the management of the scepter entails:

> Distributing justice between man and man.
>
> Hearing petitions.
>
> Redressing public grievances.
>
> Maintaining correspondencies abroad.
>
> Encouraging commerce.
>
> Enacting wholsom laws.
>
> Preserving the liberties of the people, and the just rights of the Crown.
>
> Supporting religion: and briefly, doing every needful thing to the publick tranquility, and the general good of the country. (4-5)

These are, on the whole, administrative tasks that one person—divinely ordained monarch or not—would not be able to carry out alone on behalf of an entire nation. So Defoe is being hyperbolic to some extent when he claims that the right of the scepter should rest solely in the monarch's hands. However, the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century did see the rise of a new bureaucratic class put in place to administer government at both the local and national level, and the duties of the Scepter as Defoe

sees them largely align with the duties of this new bureaucratic force.[8] Defoe's words are ironic considering his own position as one of Harley's secret agents, someone who nominally wields the administrative powers of the scepter.

Defoe deploys the genre of the secret history in order to address his concerns about how the monarchy could possibly fulfill these divinely appointed tasks; his answer, of course, is that the monarch must have capable and well-meaning administrators. He goes so far as to acknowledge the internal corruption of the ministries (without naming names), while also implying that, in the right hands, the Scepter can be fruitfully separated from the monarch. He acknowledges that when the Scepter belongs to the right group of people (that is, Whigs), great (and terrible) things can happen:

> And yet were all true, that has been said, of men's carrying on their private interest, aggrandizing their families, wasting of immense treasures, of their ambition, their avarice, and the like; yet while this must be acknowledged, that they did the nation's business, pursu'd the publick interest faithfully and vigorously, and rais'd our glory to the highest pitch abroad, that it ever was in the world, and likewise our credit at home…the Scepter in its divided station from the Crown, was never better manag'd, than in their hands… (29)

Defoe's secret history implies that the scepter has been out of the monarch's hands since the Restoration, meaning that some fundamental shift in monarchical power occurred at the moment of Charles I's beheading—a literal separation of power from the monarch's body. The frontispiece to *Eikon Basilike* (1648), for instance, a narrative of Charles I's reign dubiously attributed to the monarch himself, depicts his body as a receptacle for

both divine edict (in the form of words from heaven) and earthly power in the shape of a crown, and thus prefigures Defoe's imagery (Figure 2). While Charles I is seen receiving divine inspiration which allows him to conduct the administrative affairs of the crown singlehandedly, Defoe is concerned with happens now that the schism between the monarch's body and this divine inspiration tears divinity and administration asunder.

I bring up this work by Defoe because it seems to me to touch on some familiar strains in the life of Joseph Addison, whose diplomatic and administrative work made him a living and gave him insider access to the internal machinations of government. Defoe and Addison are vastly ideologically different—Defoe worked for Harley, while Addison critiqued him—but they share similar concerns about the implications of the demystified monarchy. Addison's professional life in the service of Whig politicians[9] is relevant here because I am concerned with the connections between writers who made their living revealing political secrets and spying on people for political reasons, and writers who made their living doing the same thing to a broader swathe of society. Addison was much more socially and politically connected than Defoe, and his way of finding his own position within the rapidly bureaucratizing monarchy was to take his took this insider knowledge and turned it into forms of social practice, alongside his friend Richard Steele, via the figure of Mr. Spectator. It is tempting to forget Addison's overt political affiliations and his professional life on behalf of the state; certainly *The Spectator* wants readers to think of Mr. Spectator as a neutral party administering observations and admonishments on behalf of all polite society rather than the product of a specific political ideology. However, not only does *The Spectator* use spying to critique "the culture of secrecy that permeated contemporary political and social life," particularly

under Harley's ministry (Bullard 115), the periodical contributes to the development of a form of socialized and socializing spying that finds its warrant in claiming to be neutral, or ignorant of, political, social, and sexual conspiracy. Addison, who knew something about diplomatic work, was probably well aware of the existence of Harley's extensive network of spies (which included Defoe). In attacking the spy on the grounds that the very nature of his activities render him unfit to be heard, Addison distances the information Mr. Spectator offers his readers from that of actual spies such as Bampfield, Smith, and fictional spies such as the Town Spy.

While Addison's theoretical political affiliations are generally accepted as Whig-leaning (despite Mr. Spectator's attempts to distance his periodical from noxious forms of partisanship such as patches and impolite arguments, as well as his play *Cato*'s [1713] appeal to both Whigs and theatergoers), Klein reminds us that Addison was very much "a creature of the Junto generation" whose literary and professional star rose through the intervention of Whig leaders, particularly Charles Montagu, Earl of Halifax, John Somers, and Thomas Wharton (111). From 1708 until about 1718 he was secretary to several Whig politicians, following the positive reception for his celebratory poem "The Campaign" (1704), commemorating Marlborough's victory at Blenheim. He also served as Member of Parliament for two Whig-leaning constituencies (111-112). Addison's political rise, therefore, was dependent upon his affiliation with the Whig Party, which belies Mr. Spectator's later claim to political impartiality.

One of Addison's early patrons was Sir John Somers, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, who drew King William's attention to Addison's poetic ode to the monarch, composed after the Battle of Namur in 1695. Somers is the author of *The Secret History*

*of the Reigns of K. Charles II and K James II* (1690) and *The True Secret His of the Lives and Reigns of All the Kings and Queens of England* (1702). Somers's "attempt[] to raise the prestige of secret history" (Bullard 62) depends on his deeply-held assurance that history is coherent and knowable, an assurance that his benefactor reflected at points in *The Spectator*. The latter, true to its title, begins with William the Conqueror and proceeds to offer salacious details of every monarch's reign (reserving particular venom for Queen Mary, and glossing over most of Elizabeth I's reign by combining her story with that of her cousin, Mary, Queen of Scots) alongside what he calls their "general history"; that is, the version the public already knows. *Lives and Reigns* thus follows the generic tradition of Whig secret histories in offering no new information. As Bullard points out, Somers's secret history is "a deliberate reaction against the kind of secret history written by David Jones in *The Secret History of Whitehall* [1697]," although Somers admits to using the same source as Jones—the spy Richard Wooley[10]—for some of his recent history (Bullard 61). Jones's epistolary secret history, which begins in 1676, is essentially an account of the Glorious Revolution's failure to release England from the secret bonds with France forged by the Stuart kings. In his use of an unnamed spy narrator, Jones, as Bullard points out, "undermines the reliability of his own intelligence" (62). In contrast, Somers's counterpoint reasserts the historiographical Whig perspective that the Glorious Revolution essentially rescued the English people from the tyranny of absolute government and made it possible for the errors of the past to come to light because, thanks to King William's age, "we now live in a reign, where truth does not pass for treason" (*Lives and Reigns* 3).

It is significant that *The Spectator* seeks to de-politicize rather than denounce the generic form of the secret history because, as Bullard has noted, the secret history in its inception was inherently a Whig form bent on the idea of seeming to reveal—that is, to quote Somers again, to assert that "we live in an age where truth does not pass for treason." The first issue of *The Spectator* is dedicated to Somers, with reference to Mr. Spectator's own "impartial" nature and particular emphasis on Somers's private behavior, including his "elegant taste in all the polite parts of learning," as well as his "humanity and complacency of manners," as a marker of his good character (Vol. 1, "Dedication" n. p.). In the very first pages of *The Spectator*, then, Addison and Steele consciously elevate private behavior as the measure of an individual, and the first issue of *The Spectator* reifies this singular approach by introducing Mr. Spectator as a self-appointed observer of such behaviors. Lord Somers is thus aligned with a fictional avatar in the figure of Mr. Spectator. This issue, familiar though it is to most eighteenth-century scholars, is worth quoting because Mr. Spectator's self-introduction is a guiding force for the rest of the periodical and his declamation is also an attempt to distance *The Spectator* from other pieces of surveillance fiction:

> In short, where-ever I see a cluster of people, I always mix with them, tho' I never open my lips but in my own Club. Thus I live in the world rather as a Spectator of Mankind than as one of the species; by which means I have made my self a speculative statesman, soldier, merchant, and artizan, without ever meddling with any practical part in life…In short, I have acted in all the parts of my life as a looker-on, which is the character I intend to preserve in this paper. (37)

If, as Bullard notes, "the early eighteenth century witnessed a fashion for texts with spy narrators," (56) Addison and Steele's Mr. Spectator adds a delicious dimension to this mix in that Mr. Spectator does not identify as a spy, but as a sociable companion to a reader navigating the ins and outs of the town, country, and court. He adamantly denies any affiliation with political parties—disingenuously so, in that this is a common rhetorical move for both parties but particularly characteristic of Whig propaganda, and even more questionable when coming from the same pen that wrote an opera, *Rosamond* (1707), dedicated to Sarah Marlborough—and focuses instead on regulating behavior, manners, and conduct in private, rather than political, life.

The connection between surveillance between the sexes and political surveillance is initially apparent in advice literature such as John Dunton's *The Athenian Mercury*, which consisted primarily of a pastiche of requests for information in the form of question-and-answer. *The Athenian Mercury* was a significant precursor to Addison and Steele's work on *The Spectator*. Bullard notes the connection between *The Athenian Mercury* and secret histories and spy narratives in their "rhetorical gestures of revelations without providing…readers with any information at all" and the use of certain "key words" such as "spy," "detection," and "secret" (69). Dunton was particularly savvy about the kinds of subjects that would attract the reading public, and his inclusion of women writers such as Elizabeth Singer Rowe was both a shrewd business decision and a reflection of *The Athenian Mercury*'s unique engagement with social, scientific, and political issues alongside domestic problems such as romantic entanglements and quarrels.

This association between love affairs and concealment draws *The Athenian Spy* into direct engagement with secret histories and surveillance fictions: if political intelligence generates state power through surveillance, then social surveillance can follow a similar trajectory, and amorous writings about the relationships between and among the sexes produce a literary milieu for the discussion and regulation of all forms of social, sexual, and political conduct.[11] The later volumes of *The Athenian Spy* (1703, 1704, 1706, and 1709), which is introduced as a "pacquet from Athens" in the mode of Charles Gildon's *The Pacquet Broke Open*, Delarivier Manley's *The Lady's Pacquet Broke Open*, and other supposedly "found" fictions of amorous intrigue from the late seventeenth to the early eighteenth century, dealt solely with romances and intrigues between the sexes with a nod to romance novelists such as Aphra Behn, who had been making similar rhetorical moves during the preceding decades. Ballaster also locates a genesis for the alignment of the political and social in literary fiction within early French scandal chronicles such as those by Madame de Scudéry and Madame d'Aulnoy whose "epistolary travelogues make significant associations between the letter form and the act of 'spying'" (*Seductive Forms* 62).

*The Spectator* takes on the issue of what exactly it means to spy on one's neighbors, and reveals that the act is particularly gendered. Issue 250 (December 17, 1711) of *The Spectator* consists of a treatise upon optics submitted by a gentleman who supposedly found it in a "poetical virtuoso's closet among his rarities" The curious treatise offers a discourse on "Eye[s] of consequence," beginning with " the visible Luminary of the Universe…this glorious Spectator" (i.e. the sun) who makes sight possible for everybody else through his light. Curiously, then, the treatise lists the figure

of Argus as its next example of opticks, and he aligns Argus with spying and spycraft in a derogatory way that reflects *The Spectator*'s opinion of political spies in Issue 439, but aligns Argus particularly with "sp[ies] in the affairs of jealousy" that is, love affairs. Describing Argus as "a pimp for his mistress Juno," easily dismissible as the "king at arms to the heathenish deities," the author advises that we "make no more of his eyes than as so many spangles of his herald's coat." Argus is thus associated paganism, frivolity, and social climbing all in one fell swoop. The treatise acknowledges, however, that the eye itself is "a common thoroughfare to let our affections pass in and out" (311) that can thus reveal one's "secret desire," and the writer finishes by advising certain regulations for the practice of seeing so as to avoid the "pernicious applications of sight," which are not emotions but behaviors associated with spying such as "tipping the wink, the circumspective roll, the side-peep through a thin hood or fan." A subsequent letter writer in the same issue by the name of Abraham Spy suggests a distinction between covert acts of social spying such as winks, eye-rolls, and side peeps and openly aggressive staring. As a corrective to the latter behavior, he recommends the use of perspective glasses as a corrective to staring: because starers are so rude that nothing will likely convince them to stop staring, perspective glasses will at least make the recipient of the stare unaware that they are the object of the starer's gaze (312). Both writers see spying as a series of actions, covert or aggressive, that can be categorized, monitored and regulated, and both of these accounts are hotly disputed in Issue 252 (December 19, 1711), by a female reader named Mary Heartfree. Heartfree is "a woman of thirty," skilled in the spectatorial arts (she claims to be "on the observation a little" in public). She roundly rebukes *The Spectator* for reducing the vast emotional capabilities of the

eyes, as well as the many ways in which they can convey secrets. To the point about perspective glasses, Heartfree scoffs that any woman knows how to use her eye to be "slightly watchful while it looks negligent" (314); that is, there are secret realms of optical subterfuge employed by women that Mr. Spectator's male readers, despite their claims to detached scientific observational analysis, know nothing about.

Heartfree also brings up the figure of Argus that the original writer so summarily dismissed, referring not to his dismissive identification of Argus's eyes with useless, decorative "spangles," but to the legend of Argus as Hera's servant with a hundred eyes, which she interprets to mean "no more than that the eye is in every part, that is to say, every other part would be mutilated, were not its force represented more by the eye than even by it self. But this is heathen Greek to those who have not conversed in glances" (314). Her privileging of the eye as a key marker of meaning through which truthful emotions may be wrought seems to contradict her earlier contention that women don't need perspective glasses in order to pretend that they are not looking at what they are looking at. Heartfree argues, however, against the idea that optical subterfuge can ever be contained by perspective glasses or the ceasing of winks or side peeps through a fan, as much as the male spectators may believe it is possible to regulate the tricks of the eye. Heartfree thus sees through Mr. Spectator's claim that self-regulatory surveillance is possible at all, and her claim is significant in the context of the surveillance narrative because it persists in claiming what the Town Spy—and Bampfield and Smith—already know: those who converse in glances are implicated in what they see. Seeing and spying are entwined, as much as Mr. Spectator claims otherwise.

As if to devalue her claims, the following two letters offer humorous contradictions to Mary Heartfree's points: to soften her contention that the glance is a form of language, Barbara Crabtree asks if she may use a cudgel as a "good figure of speech" upon her "sot of a husband." A subsequent male writer supports Mr. Spectator's contention that women are more highly skilled orators than men, but his evidence suggests that this is because they use emotional manipulation, particularly tears, to achieve their effects, and asks Mr. Spectator to provide "an anatomy of the female eye, and explain the springs and sluices, which feed it with such ready supplies of moisture; and likewise shew by what means they may be stopped at a reasonable expence." To prove her point, Mary Heartfree offers to provide *The Spectator* with evidence in the form of a "secret history, by translating all the looks of the next assembly of ladies and gentlemen in words, to adorn some future paper" (314). This offer, coming immediately before the subsequent papers that cast aspersions on the female gaze, ridiculing the idea of a rhetoric of sight and suggesting instead that women tend to manipulate men using their "ready supplies of moisture," equates the secret history with these trivialized because feminine rhetorical strategies.[12] Thus, Mr. Spectator not only distances himself from secret histories as a genre, but makes it clear that his version of enlightened masculinity does not subscribe to the rhetorical strategies of secret histories, nor the optics of conspiracies therein, which are presented as not worth knowing—perhaps because, as Mary Heartfree claims, men cannot know them without access to women's mediation.

Mr. Spectator travels undercover not by disguising himself, as Matthew Smith and his compatriots do, but by blending in. His ability to blend, however, is a testament to

his privileged social position: he can navigate a variety of social scenes because he has the money and the connections to gain access to them, and the social training to know how to acquit himself once there. He thus fits the profile of the "modest witness" whom Tita Chico reminds us, by way of Steven Shapin, Simon Schaffer, and Donna Harraway, "is a figure of privilege and authority—a gentleman thought to have enough privilege to transcend bias and the personal judgment that threatens social order—but also subject to the collective monitoring by peers" ("Couplets and Curls" 256). Mr. Spectator also prefers to use the words "witness" or "spectator" over the term "spy" to distinguish himself from those whose objectivity and morality have been compromised, or feminized—as Mary Heartfree's has, according to her detractors—because of their emotional involvement or self-interest. *The Spectator* follows the rhetorical pattern of secret histories in attempting to distinguish itself from its predecessors, both by offering authentic verification of its information and by casting aspersions on similar works. Mr. Spectator may look like a spy and act like a spy, but in Issue 439 (July 24, 1712), Addison—writing as Mr. Spectator—makes his low opinions of spies known:

> As it is absolutely necessary for rulers to make use of other people's eyes and ears, they should take particular care to do it in such a manner, that it may not bear too hard on the person whose life and conversation are enquired into. A man who is capable of so infamous a calling as that of a spy, is not very much to be relied upon. He can have no great ties of honour or checks of conscience, to restrain him in those covert evidences, where the person accused has no opportunity of vindicating himself. He will be more industrious to carry that which is grateful than that which is

> true…Nor is it to be doubted but that such ignominious wretches let their private passions into these clandestine informations… (538)

The sovereign, Mr. Spectator claims, has a right to use spies to collect information because he has a right to all information about what goes on under his jurisdiction. The negative feelings aroused by the idea of being spied on are thus deflected onto the figure of the spy himself, not the sovereign. The nature of the spy's "infamous calling" is that all his information is suspect, partial, and likely to be exaggerated or downplayed depending on his own inclinations. The spy, according to Mr. Spectator, lacks "honour" and "conscience," and "restraint," highly subject to his "private passions" and is capable of industry only in such case as it can assuredly advance his own cause. Mr. Spectator, of course, protests too much—his Whig-leaning ideologies are clear, although like every good statesman, he claims to be above the fray; of a noble calling, not an infamous one. Defining himself as separate from political parties, from clubs, and from the need to make a living, Mr. Spectator gives his own intelligence the veneer of ultimate and impartial truth.

Spies such as Bampfield and Smith already know they are viewed this way, hence their attempts to create precise accountings of their work in order to vindicate their surveillance activities on behalf of the rich and powerful. The political spies who wrote narratives in this period, including Bampfield and Smith, are hampered by their class positions in a way that Mr. Spectator is not. They are concerned with their physical safety and their financial futures and when they comment on other people's behavior or reveal secrets, their observations are tainted by their sometimes-desperate straits, or, in the case of spies such as John Macky or Defoe, by their patrons' political positions. Thus, Addison

takes care to make a distinction between the disaffected, paranoid, or grandiose real-life spy narrative that characterized the early eighteenth-century and, in its stead, creates a new breed of social surveyor and political commentator in the figure of Mr. Spectator. In doing so, he expands the definition of spying to include private behavior of no apparent political consequence although other urban spy narratives, including *The Town Spy*, deliberately eschew *The Spectator*'s moralism and instead feature narrators directly embedded in city life, rather than invisible and apart from it.

John Macky's *Memoirs of the Secret Services of John Macky*

In Macky's *Memoirs* we read of a spy who struggled with the same challenges as Bampfield and Smith, but managed to come out on top. Like Bampfield, Macky started out a somewhat hapless spy for the Crown, but he eventually managed to end up pretty comfortably as part of the establishment. Macky's career was made possible by the Hanoverian regime's deeply paranoid (if justified) fears about Jacobite plots for a Stuart Restoration. During King William's reign, he was in charge of a fleet of boats that carried correspondence across the English Channel to the Continent. In 1706, Lord Godolphin gave him the task of setting up a communications network between England and Flanders.[13] Macky was also "to have a watchful eye over the naval preparations from time to time at Dunkirk" (xii). In this capacity, he says he got wind of the intended Jacobite invasion of 1708. (It should also be noted that he is not the only person to claim to have been the one to see these preparations and give warning about them). Macky's intelligence, he claims, was not heeded, and he was instead put into jail for treasonous correspondence with France despite the fact that he had just, if you believe him, saved the kingdom. Like Bampfield, Macky was anxious to justify his conduct and convinced that

incompetence and conspiracy by those in superior political positions kept him from being fully acknowledged for his contributions (xvi-xvii).

Macky not only witnesses momentous events, but appears to direct them behind the scenes. Like Cardinal Richelieu in Marana's *Turkish Spy*, Macky is all-seeing and all-knowing: he manages to intercept just the right communications at just the right moment in order to singlehandedly save the English from invasion by Jacobite forces on more than one occasion, much to the incredulity of military and government officials. However, while Mahmut is frightened by Richelieu's quasi-supernatural abilities, the tone of *Memoirs* renders Macky comically overblown in a way that prefigures nineteenth-century children's stories about Bonny Prince Charlie. The opening pages of his narrative blithely summarize his exploits, making casual reference to disasters that his interventions diverted, usually because of his preternatural skill at seizing treasonous letters from the packet boats between Dover, France, and Flanders, which King George I has put in his charge. Although Macky is not a Jacobite hero, his exploits offer tantalizing glimpses into an imaginary Jacobite world of intrigue, assassination attempts, and secret correspondence.

When he was finally released from prison, Macky had trouble finding work, went into debt, and "after thirty years service [was] now in a worse condition than ever" (xvi-xviii). Robert Walpole rescued him from this obscurity, allowing him, so to speak, to come in from the cold by participating in Walpole's far-reaching plot to monitor the postal correspondence of anyone suspected of being a Jacobite spy, both at home and abroad. Through the influence of a network of international agents, including Macky, the British government kept up with the postal correspondence through Danzig, Brussels,

Genoa, Leyden, Hanover, Louvain, Antwerp, Calais, and Hamberg (Fritz 273). Macky's role was to orchestrate the relationship between Walpole and Francois Jaupain, postmaster at Brussels (274). So Macky never suffered the reversal of fortune that Bampfield did, mainly because he was employed in one of the earliest state-orchestrated mass surveillance projects (a project that, in retrospect, makes the contemporary over-reach of the NSA seem predetermined).

Macky is a pivotal figure in the formation of the spy narrative because of his extensive biographical cataloguing of important political figures and also because of his engagement with other writers. The central part of the *Memoirs*[14] is essentially an eighteenth-century burn book, a form clearly influenced by the scandalously insider-accounts in secret histories such as Delarivier Manley's *New Atalantis* (1709-1711). Indeed, Macky's *Memoirs* can be fruitfully read alongside the *New Atalantis*.[15] Both texts are written at a distance from the action they describe. The action of *New Atalantis* takes place in 1702, but is also described retrospectively: the Whig Churchills are court favorites, for example, but both writer and reader know that this is no longer the case as of the time of the narrative's publication, when the Tory Abigail Masham supplanted them in Queen Anne's favor. The world of Manley's *New Atalantis* still existed at the time of her writing: Anne is still queen, although by 1709 when the first volume of *New Atalantis* was published, it was clear that she was unlikely to produce an heir and that the English crown would pass to the Hanoverians. This fact makes Manley's account more urgent than Macky's—indeed, Astrea's judgment of the moral degeneration at court may in fact be so harsh as to condemn the human race entirely, although, in a reference to Sodom and Gomorrah, she concedes that "out of multitudes of evil, still some good may

be extracted" (8). *New Atalantis*, therefore, has an, urgent prophetic tone that sometimes verges on apocalyptic.

By contrast, Macky's descriptions of court figures are written from a safe distance, under a government that highly favored Whigs and the protection of Prime Minister Robert Walpole, for whom Macky had engaged in intelligence work. Unlike Manley, Macky was in no danger of arrest for libel. Ultimately, his *Memoirs* provides very little new information—as evidenced by the fact that many of the figures he describes have already been satirized by Manley, who was master of her craft. Additionally, while Macky's work capitalizes on the public's taste for licentious detail, it appears more bemused than scandalized by these details, which is appropriate given Macky's Whig sensibilities. Both *Memoirs* and *New Atalantis* are products of the periodical culture of social surveillance established by *The Spectator*, which thrives on portraits of personalities and being in the know.

Unlike Manley, Macky wrote his descriptions of court figures from a safe distance, under a government that highly favored Whigs and under Walpole's protection. It is in the addition of salacious details about the sex lives and finances of court figures that both texts find their warrant.[16] It is especially telling to look at where Manley and Macky seem at first to disagree with one another, and yet arrive at similar conclusions; this tells us that for all their ostensible political differences, both are fundamentally far more concerned with private details than with overriding political ideologies. For example, Manley is lavish in her praise of Thomas, Earl of Pembroke, who she suggests is the "great good man," the antidote to the current "noisy, vain-glorious, boasting, severe, unmerciful" leaders of the English navy (12). Macky's opinion of Pembroke is

more muted: he downplays Pembroke's staunch ism, praising him as "a lover of the Constitution of his country, without being of a Party, and yet esteemed by all Parties" (22). However, Macky, a former seaman, subtly undercuts Pembroke's claims to naval qualifications: "after presiding some years at the Board of Admiralty, our most able seamen say, that he only wanted the experience of going to sea, to make the best Admiral we have" (21). Pembroke's lack of practical experience makes him an ineffective leader, Macky implies, and although Manley at first proclaims Pembroke the savior of the English navy, she then also undercuts this claim by implying that the corruption in the navy runs far too deeply to be addressed by any one man. Using opposing rhetorical strategies, and standing on opposing ends of the political spectrum, therefore, Manley and Macky sometimes come to tellingly oblique agreement about the competence, or lack thereof, of people in power. Because Manley was a staunch Tory and Macky a devout Whig, their various characterizations of famous figures are particularly illuminating when juxtaposed. This suggests that their political positions may ultimately be more similar than either Whigs or Tories would care to admit.

Readers might find *Memoirs* a handy reference guide, a sort of satirical precursor to *Burke's Peerage*. Macky doesn't provide evidence in the form of extended salacious stories to get his point across, perhaps because Manley has already done it so well—most of the time, he simply sums up and then quickly dismisses his target in a single, hilariously pointed sentence. The Duke of Gordon, for example, "hath a great many good links in him, but they do not all make a compleat chain" [195].[17] Macky is so solicitous for his own legacy and confident in his relationship with the powerful Walpole that his *Memoirs* are essentially a compilation of the intelligence he gathered working for King

William and Queen Anne, but one would be hard-pressed to find any truly new information among what he claims are exclusive revelations. Furthermore, although Macky airs complaints about injustices done to him earlier in his career, he is also careful about whom he names in this regard. Like Mr. Spectator, he stops just short of implicating or offending anyone. Moreover, as *Memoirs of the Secret Services of John Macky* was published in 1730 and focuses mainly on members of the court of King William, the information that he offers is out of date and irrelevant to the current political moment. Macky's narrative participates in the surveillance narrative's tradition of claiming to reveal without actually revealing. The engaging, witty style of the narrative makes for an enjoyable read, and this is Macky's genuine innovation: he makes being a spy seem fun, instead of an exercise in fractured selfhood.

When Macky does discuss tyranny, he makes sure to place it firmly outside England. In one of his well-known travel narratives, he writes back to his presumed English gentlemen readership that, "your habeas corpus, my worthy lords and gentlemen, is a jewel possessed nowhere on Earth but by you" (*Journey Through Scotland* vi). In contrast, he says, the courts of Europe are hotbeds of absolutist tyranny where "sovereignties…[have] long ears and heavy hands" (v).[18] Macky could be speaking to the world in which Bampfield was forced to operate (although it is worth noting that the Act issued by James II ordering Bampfield's arrest would have given him no right of *habeas corpus* either). Still, Macky is speaking on behalf of a Whig government and indirectly against the arbitrary despotism still imagined as lurking in the exiled Jacobite court in Europe. The irony that he was himself an agent for a government whose "long ears and

heavy hands" could reach into the intimate private correspondence of individuals at home and abroad seems lost on Macky.

*The Spectator* also relegates the secret history to the realm of sentiment and entertainment, not allowing the genre to evince the claim to revisionist political historiography with which writers such as Jones, Defoe, and Somers imbued it. In this regard, *The Spectator* makes a space for the scandalous secret histories of Manley (the second volume of the *New Atalantis* was published in 1711, the same year that *The Spectator* began publication) and later works by Haywood, both by reifying the figure of the spy and by attempting to de-politicize the secret history genre. Manley's Tory-oriented secret history, the *New Atalantis* and *Memoirs of Europe* (1710) "reworks secret history's characteristic rhetoric of disclosure…in an effort to unite the Tory party" (Bullard 88). Thus, the act of performatively revealing past conspiracies created the appearance that conspiracies were to be associated solely with prior governments and prior ages.

## Conclusion

Manley's surveillance narratives may seem to be a return of sorts to surveillance chronicles about elite lives, and I suggest that she meant them to be so. In light of the emergence of the urban spy in the first decade of the eighteenth century in fictions such as Ward's *The London Spy* and the anonymous *Town Spy* discussed above, I suggest that Manley wanted to reassert the secret history's focus on court secrets over the anonymous, or at least oblique, secrets set forth in urban surveillance narratives. In the beginning of the *New Atalantis*, Astrea and her mother Virtue discuss why Astrea should view—and learn from—the lives of the nobility instead of common people. After all, Virtue, who

was left behind on earth when Astrea left it, has suffered from extreme neglect, "thrust out from courts and cities" (5). If the nobility have been overtaken by vice, however, Virtue makes it clear that ordinary people are even worse:

> Quite exploded from courts and cities, I was reputed to have refuged among the villagers, but alas! They knew less of me there, than in the cabinets of princes. For mortals being, by nature as well as custom, corrupt, the lessons of philosophers and humanity, only refine and fit 'em for the study of virtue; a generous education illuminates the clod-born-birth, without which man is the greatest brute of the creation; the rustic soul looks out in native ignorance, cruelty, avarice, distrust, fraud, revenge, ingratitude, self-interest: the whole ignoble train, that fly before the dawn of knowledge, and the sweetness of science. (6)

If the following pages of the *New Atalantis* are designed to expose the corruption at the heart of the court, Manley has also made it clear that Virtue does not subscribe to the idea (often represented in pastoral poetry) that the uneducated peasant's proximity to nature and distance from the corrupting influence material wealth somehow renders their behavior and their souls closer to an original, uncorrupted ideal. If the nobility are corrupt, Virtue contends, their lower-born counterparts are even more so because their "native ignorance" has not had the benefit of the refining exposure to science, philosophy, and the humanities. However, Virtue is implicitly suggesting that upper and lower class people share the same forms of vice: she implies that it is more fun to read about the aristocracy because they should know better.

In responding to Manley, Macky also insisted upon showcasing the privileged information that he could access as a supposed-insider (although, again, most of his news

was not news). His narrative combines some of the elements of earlier accounts by spies such as Bampfield and Smith, but follows the Whig historiographical trajectory of progress, ending in personal triumph as a result of his secret-service savvy that is capped off by his non-revelatory revelations. Like Mr. Spectator, Macky performs his surveillance from a position of detachment: the section of *Memoirs* that contains his character descriptions does not involve Macky personally at all, but rather consists of information Macky claims to have heard from other people. The contrasts between the spy figures mentioned in this chapter—all of whom can be identified as variations on the urban spy—gives us some indication that surveillance as a form is rife with differences of opinion. This is also why many secret histories from the 1710s claim to be secret histories of other secret histories, and why Mr. Spectator is so careful to distinguish his narrative from other surveillance narratives and from secret histories. The ultimate arbiter of authenticity is, of course, the reader.

In addition to discussing the way in which surveillance fictions were mediated through figures of the Whig ascendancy such as Mr. Spectator, this chapter has discussed the emerging figure of the urban spy as a prototype and an antitype for the polite and urbane Mr. Spectator. The urban spy persisted throughout the eighteenth century in various forms through publications such *The London Spy Revived* (1736-1738), a weekly periodical written by "Democritus Secundus of the Fleet" that focuses on international, national, and local news. The front page of the first issue offers news about the courts of France and Italy and the comings and goings of the nobility, alongside quotidian information that can only be described as gossip:

> We hear that Dr. Sands, of Cambridge, is going over to Holland, to attend her Royal Highness the Princess of Orange in her labor.
>
> On Wednesday night last, the wife of Mr. Woolley, a linen-draper in Cheapside, having been to pay a visit, returned home well, and was immediately taken with an apoplectick fit, and died in a few hours. (n. p.).

What does such a juxtaposition do (this paper and many others from the period are full of similar examples)? Beyond nationalizing the local and localizing the national and in many ways literally democratizing information (as the author's name would suggest), it shows that spying in its basic form is inclusive of both information about royal labors and about mysterious anonymous deaths. This fascination with the baser aspects of life—birth, death, and sex—colludes with earlier surveillance fictions' preoccupation with "secret springs"—the "wheels within wheels" behind governmental power that lead early spy narrators to the paranoid conclusion that the world is full of interconnected conspiracies. The urban spy knows that the political health of the nation is intimately tied to the private details of domestic life; that the Princess of Orange's laboring body is flattened against that of Mrs. Woolley's apoplectic death is no accident. As I shall discuss in the following chapter, eighteenth-century surveillance fictions began to stake claims on the domestic and the private through the process of exploring and revealing hidden networks at power in the lowest and uppermost social echelons.


Figure 3. A Pocket Map of the Cities of London, Westminster, and Southwark with the Addition of the Buildings to this Present Year (1725).

| | |
|---|---|
| 1. St. Margaret's Parish | 14. St. Sepulchre's |
| 2. St. James Park, Westminster | 15. Christ-Church |
| 3. St. Anne's Parish, SoHo | 16. St. Gregory, St. Austin [Augustine], St. Faith |
| 4. St. Martin's-in-the-Fields | 17. St. Giles's-Without-Cripplegate |
| 5. St. Giles's-in-the-Fields | 18. St. James at Clerkenwell |
| 5a. Drury Lane and the Hundred of Drury | 19. St. Bennet [Benet] and St. Peter Paul's-Wharf |
| 6. St. Paul in Covent Garden | 20. All-Hallows in Bread-Street, and St. John the Evangelist |
| 7. St. Mary in the Savoy<br>[St. Mary le Strand, not to be confused with the later German Lutheran Church by Lincoln's Inn Fields] | 21. St. Michael and St. Alban in Woodstreet and St. Mildred in the Poultry |
| 8. St. Clement Dane's | 22. St. Lawrence Jewry, St. Katherine Coleman-Street, St. Mary in Aldermanbury, and St. Michael Bassishaw [Basinghall Street] |
| 9. St. Dunstan-in-the-West, including Ram Alley | 23. St. Mary le Bow, St. Pancras Soperlane, and All-Hallows Honey Lane |
| 10. St. Andrew in Holbourn | 24. St. Anthony and St. John Baptist by Dowgate |
| 11. St. Brides | 25. St. Mary Woolnoth, St. Mary Woolchurch, St. Edmund the King, All Hallows in Lombard Street |
| 12. St. Anne Black-Fryers and St. Andrew Wardrobe | 26. St. Mary Abchurch |
| 13. St. Martin-at-Ludgate | 27. St. Peter and St. Michael in Cornhill |

Figure 3.2. Key to the Locations Visited by the Town Spy.


Figure 4: Frontispiece to Eikon Basilike: The Portraiture of His Sacred Majesty in Solitude and Sufferings (1648).

# Notes

[1] According to Wendy Lee, Clarissa sheds aspects of her identity after her rape, embracing the consolations of being an anonymous urban-dweller as a form of freedom after her claustrophobic, much-surveyed former life. She refuses to tell friends and family where she is, and asks them to address letters to her to assumed names at various locations around town: "Clarissa, as Mrs. Clark in a glove-shop, or as Mrs. Salcomb at an inn, or as nobody at all, is in the newly coveted, distinctly urban position of being a stranger among strangers" (56). See also Amanda Anderson's *The Powers of Distance: Cosmpolitanism and the Cultivation of Detachment* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001).

[2] See Frederich Engels, *The Condition of the Working Class in England* (1844), Henry Mayhew's *London Labor and the London Poor* (1861), and James Thomson's *The City of Dreadful Night* (1874)

[3] Diane Boyd notes that the coach in eighteenth-century literature is a sign of the wealth and freedom of its owner and it is a space that is at once both public and private ("Half-Spoken Contracts: The Coach, Social Identity, and Women's Work in *Belinda*" 188-204). For more on coach travel in eighteenth-century literature, see Percy G. Adams's "The Coach Motif in Eighteenth-Century Fiction" in *Modern Language Studies* 8.2 (1978): 17-26 and Tom Keymer's "Readers and Stage Coaches in Fielding and Sterne" in *Notes and Queries* 41.2 (1994): 209-211, as well as Robin Jarvis's "The Glory of Motion: DeQuincey, Travel, and Romanticism" in the *Yearbook of English Studies* 34 (2004): 74-87. We can also look to Keryl Kavanagh's analysis of the sometimes productive and

sometimes fragmented relationship between language and coach travel in Laurence Sterne's *A Sentimental Journey* (1768). Finally, there are wonderful nineteenth-century examples from nineteenth-century literature of the public nature of private transport, especially that of Madame Bovary and Léon fornicating inside their closed carriage, probably within their driver's hearing.

[4] The development of the institution of the post office, as Steven Pincus discusses, is a testament to the rapid modernization of English bureaucracy in the late-seventeenth century; as he notes, "successive postmasters general, beginning with John Thurloe in 1657 transformed the postal service from one that carried royal messages and the letters of a select elite into a national service that circulated the correspondence of thousands of English men and women" (70). That one's mail was monitored was generally taken for granted; hence Macky's pride in being asked to deliver correspondence personally, as it was far more secure to delegate confidential letters to trusted individuals than to the national post office.

The Act of 1711 officially made it legal to monitor correspondence, using paradoxical pre-Orwellian terminology: letters and packets were not allowed to be opened, except with a warrant. To procure a warrant required evidence that the contents were suspicious, and the best way to determine whether the contents of a letter or packet were suspicious was to open it (Fritz 266). At first, the Walpole regime supplied lists of names of people suspected of engaging in treasonous correspondence, but by the 1730s this formality was done away with entirely (267). In 1735, Walpole submitted to the appointment of an investigative committee regarding the extent of his surveillance

activities, with the caveat that the committee not "inquire into anything that might tend to discover the secrets of the government" (*Report from the Secret Committee on the Post Office*, qtd in Fritz 267). The committee's findings, released as *A Further Report from the Committee of Secrecy to Enquire into the Conduct of Robert, Earl of Orford* in 1742, showed that a secret sector of the post office for the purpose of examining foreign correspondence had been in existence since 1718.

According to Paul Fritz, the Walpole government's "efforts to gain control of European postal centers used by the Jacobites…amount to an almost complete obsession with Jacobitism" (273). At the same time, it must be admitted that Walpole's secret department was most effective in monitoring and preventing Jacobite activity. The Atterbury Plot of 1722 was uncovered by Walpole's team of decipherers, although the issue of whether Atterbury's illicitly obtained postal correspondence could be admitted as evidence against him was raised at his trial. Questions about how the letters came to be uncovered and deciphered were deflected as prying inquiries into matters of natural security (270). The Walpole administration may have been paranoid, but that didn't mean the Jacobites weren't out to get them.

[5] As Rachel Weil and Eve Tavor Bannet have both argued, concerns about whether women tell the truth tend to be a generic feature of the secret history from the 1690s onward (Weil 550; Bannet "Secret History" 389). The Warming Pan scandal has made up a large part of recent studies on the relationship among women, truth, and narrative in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, but I would argue that this relationship can be traced back even further. The Warming Pan scandal implicates King James's

Catholic Queen, Mary of Modena, and directly pits the Catholic Royal Family against its Protestant heir presumptive daughters, Mary and Anne. However, the marriage between Anne and Mary's mother, Anne Hyde, herself an erstwhile Catholic, and James II, who was then Duke of York, was also a source of contention over the legitimacy of private marriage. Anne was contracted to the Duke of York while he and Charles II were still in exile in Denmark, and they married in the dead of night with few witnesses. Even Anne's father, the Earl of Clarendon, one of Charles II's most trusted advisors, didn't notice she was pregnant. When told of the marriage, he demanded she be imprisoned, and even James backpedalled. It was Charles II who affirmed the marriage's legitimacy, although most breathed a sigh of relief when their firstborn child, a male, died after seven months. His death helped delay the scandal that later ensued at the thought that England's heir presumptive was a Catholic. The Duchess of York died when Queen Anne was six, and Mary of Modena's unabashed Catholicism and her foreign background (not to mention her position as Queen) made her an easy target for fanciful claims of scandal and illegitimacy. In a sense, however, the Warming Pan Scandal was a repetition of the events of 1660, only this time the stakes were higher because a Catholic male had replaced two Protestant females in the line of succession.

[6] The casual mention of how easy it is for legal guardians to take advantage of their charges (especially when those guardians are men who control women's inheritances) also calls to mind the plight of Frances Burney's *Cecilia* (1782).

[7] There are two versions, both published by Samuel Keimer, who is acknowledged to have published some pamphlets by Defoe is 1715 (*ODNB*). Furbank and Owens doubt

the attribution; however, Novak, Moore, Hutchins, and Trent believe this is Defoe's work (*ESTC*). *The Secret History of the Scepter* (which I will refer to hereafter as *Scepter*) is 49 pages long, while *The Secret History of the State Intrigues in the Management of the Scepter* (to be referred to as *Management*) is 67 pages long. *Scepter* breaks off in the middle of Defoe's description of Robert Walpole's supposed duplicitousness and his alleged dealings with the Jacobites. *Management* goes on to describe Walpole's downfall, and to directly address "the author of the late pamphlets called the *Staff*," who defends Lord Bolingbroke's involvement (58).

[8] The rise of this administrative/bureaucratic class in England during the late seventeenth century has been attributed both to the realignment of monarchical powers as a result of the Revolution Settlement and to James II's establishment of a standing army and "modern[ization of] the English bureaucracy, both in the metropolis" as well as his "creat[ion of] a standing army [and] a more modern navy" (Pincus 216). However, the Whig historiographical viewpoint has been that the Revolution both reified the power of the crown and realigned monarchical power and the will of the people. This viewpoint prevailed because the Whigs aligned their party with the idea of "no party." The Tories, however, could not get away from the idea of party if they tried. After Harley resigned in 1708, the Tory Party was flooded with a variety of political refuges and consisted of:

> an uneasy alliance of various factions, including Jacobites and High-flyers (the High Church wing of the Tories), Williamite or Hanoverian Tories who attempted to reconcile a belief in the central constitutional role of royal prerogative with the results of the Revolution…and those who—like

> Robert Harley—rejected the entire concept of party as divisive and destructive. By contrast, the Whigs had formed themselves into a relatively coherent party unit… (Bullard 87).

[9] In 1697, Addison—who had gained recognition for his skills in Latin verse at Oxford, and had subsequently attracted the attention of John Dryden—dedicated a Latin paean to William, *Pax Gulielmi auspiciis Europeae reddita*, to Sir Charles Montagu, later Earl of Halifax. Montagu subsequently arranged for Addison to study abroad on a grand tour of the Continent, supported by an annual stipend. While abroad, Addison met the diplomat Abraham Stanyan, Secretary of the Embassy for Charles Montagu, Earl of Manchester and ambassador to Venice. Stanyan, who would later become a member of the Kit-Kat Club, and familiarized Addison with the vagaries of European political theatre (*ODNB*). He also travelled briefly with Sir Edward Wortley Montagu, another rising Whig diplomat and later husband to Lady Mary Wortley Montagu. Addison stayed abroad until 1704 and although the Whigs were out of power when he returned, he managed to curry favor at court through the publication of his poem *The Campaign*, a lengthy ode to the Duke of Marlborough. Finally, in 1705, he was appointed an undersecretary to Sir Charles Hedges. He subsequently visited the court of Hanover in the company of the Earl of Halifax as part of a diplomatic effort to maintain ties between the two countries prior to the presumed Hanoverian accession. As Addison's literary career picked up steam, so too did his work on behalf of the Whig Ministry, culminating in his appointment as Lord Wharton's secret in 1708, and his election to Parliament in 1710. When George I was crowned king, Addison was officially named a Secretary of State.

[10] Wolley was also known to John Dunton, who published his *Compleat Library, or News for the Ingenious* in serial format from 1692-1694 (*ODNB*).

[11] Indeed, in *The Athenian Spy* when a gentleman of the Athenian Society wishes to start a private correspondence with a lady that he claims will be a "platonick courtship," his intended correspondent answers smartly that such a thing does not exist and that he should know better: "The shipwreck of so many before you, one wou'd be apt to think, shou'd make you afraid of the dangerous voyage to Mrs. Behn's Island" (30). For this female correspondent, the idea that a person cannot be separated from his gender is so self-evident that anyone suggesting otherwise is immediately suspect: "He that denys what he really is, makes us sometimes violently suspect him what he is not, and as often find out what he takes such overcare to conceal" (8).

[12] Addison continues in this vein in one of his last publications, the periodical *The Freeholder* (1715-1716), in which he directly appeals to women to stand against arbitrary government because such governments tend to make their domestic lives suffer under such tyranny as would expose them to practices such as footbinding, which will "unqualify a woman for an evening walk or a country dance" (18-19), confine them to "perpetual virginity" (20), or require them to throw themselves on their husbands' funeral pyres (19). His patronizing appeal asks women to consider their domestic and social comforts, rather than their consciences or patriotism.

[13] After Lord Marlborough's victory at the Battle of Ramellies, 1706.

[14] *Memoirs of the Secret Services of John Macky* is not so much a continuous narrative as pastiche of several texts, including ones previously printed, cobbled together with an

introduction and dedication. The text begins with a dedication to Prince Frederick of Wales, followed by an address to the reader by Macky's son, Spring Macky, who is responsible for the publication of the *Memoirs* under Edmund Curll and composed the dedication, dated September 20, 1732. Curll had already published a biography of Bishop Burnet, whose *History of His Own Time* is repeatedly mentioned in *Memoirs*. Macky contends that his son Gilbert, who was charged in Bishop Burnet's will with the care and publication of his papers, withheld some of these personal papers from publication in Burnet's *History of His Own Time* (1724-1734); the implication is that the publication of Macky's *Memoirs* will spur Gilbert to release these papers to the public. To that end, Macky attaches what he alleges is the codicil to Bishop Burnet's will distributing all of his personal possessions, including his papers. Bishop Burnet's codicil is Appendix One of the narrative; Appendix Two consists of two tracts allegedly written by Burnet on the subjects of barrenness in women and polygamy in men.

Macky's *Memoirs* are written in retrospect and include accounts of many famous aging figures from the courts of King Charles II and King James II. Although the text was published in 1733, the introduction was written posthumously and accounts for Macky's service under both King William and Robert Walpole. However, the central part of the *Memoirs—The True Secret History of the Rise, Promotions, &c of the English and Scots Nobility, Officers, Civil, Military, Naval, and Other Persons of Distinction, from the Revolution*—was written during the reign of Queen Anne and before the end of the Whig junto in 1710, as evidenced by the fact that the Duke of Marlborough is still described as being in favor (6-7).

[15] The action of the *New Atalantis* takes place in 1702, but is also described retrospectively: the Whig Churchills are court favorites, for example, but both writer and reader know that this is no longer the case as of the time of the narrative's publication, when Abigail Masham supplanted them in Queen Anne's favor. The world of the *New Atalantis* still existed at the time of her writing, although it was clear that Queen Anne was unlikely to produce an heir and that the English crown would pass to the Hanoverians. This fact makes Manley's account more urgent than Macky's—indeed, Astrea's judgment of the moral degeneration at court may in fact be so harsh as to condemn the human race entirely, although, in a reference to Sodom and Gomorrah, she concedes that "out of multitudes of evil, still some good may be extracted" (8). The *New Atalantis*, therefore, has an urgent, prophetic tone that sometimes verges on apocalyptic.

[16] Both agree, for instance, that the Duke of Leeds is "rakish and extravagant in his manner, otherwise he had risen quicker" (Macky 170) and Manley adds that he is a great thrower of parties for women in port towns "as far as his credit will stretch, though to the expense of the believing tradesmen, who may wait long enough, if thy but wait, 'till their bill comes in course to be paid" (Manley 10).

[17] The Earl of Sutherland is "too familiar for his quality, and often keeps company below it" (201). The Earl of Lauderdale "is a gentleman that means well to his country, but comes far short of his predecessors" (230). Rear Admiral Graydon "makes more noise than brave men generally do" (174).

[18] As a writer, Macky is most known for his *Journey Through England in Familiar Letters from a Gentleman Here to His Friend Abroad* (1714), *A Journey Through*

*Scotland* (1723), and *A Journey Through the Austrian Netherlands* (1725). He addresses the introduction to *Journey Through England* to young noblemen, whom he presumes have already traveled through much of Europe. The purpose of a travel narrative throughout the English countryside, he says, is so that those who have journeyed throughout Europe can contrast the extreme arbitrary governments with the comparative freedom of the English people.

# CHAPTER THREE: THE SPY WHO LOVED ME: SEXUAL SURVEILLANCE IN THE EARLY EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

The tension between Mr. Spectator, the urbane periodicalist who attempts to distance himself from what he surveys as means of convincing his readers of his objectivity, and spies such as the Town Spy and John Macky, who often delight in identifying with their subjects, are registered in subsequent surveillance narratives. These changes reflect surveillance fiction's unique set of concerns and show that the genre shifted shape in order to adapt to social and political changes, although the surveillance narratively is chronically careful to signal itself, usually by using the words "spy" or "secret history" in its title or subtitle. The result of this strategic self-proclamation is that the surveillance chronicle can take on characteristics of other genres at will, and the in the 1720s and 1730s, the genre shifted to reflect a set of concerns associated with the amatory and the domestic.

In this chapter, I will be examining one arguably comic surveillance fiction—Eliza Haywood's *Bath Intrigues*---against the undeniably tragic *The Forced Virgin*, a one-off work by the anonymous "Lysander." The pairing of *The Forced Virgin* and *Bath Intrigues* may seem to be an unconventional one: *The Forced Virgin* is a tragic tale published by an unknown author, while *Bath Intrigues* is a satiric comedy by one of the premiere, and most prolific, authors of the day. However, both fall under the rubric of amatory and scandal fictions, two genres whose concerns already overlap with those of

surveillance fiction (Bannet "Secret History" 379). Each narrative demonstrates the invisible economies at the heart of surveillance fictions, which help us to see how sex and gender, money, and power are organized, and vulnerabilities—particularly of women—exploited and exposed.

Surveillance fictions deal with tyranny by design, and in the 1720s and 1730s they become particularly interested in the petty tyranny of the husband and lover, rather than the monarch or the state.[1] As Marschalk, Porch, and Backscheider point out, by the 1730s, the term "secret history" functions as "a truth claim and an amatory claim," deliberately hearkening back to its early association "with royal mistresses, courtesans, and women in relationships with powerful and aristocratic men"; for example, *The Secret History of Francelia* (1690) was reprinted in 1734 and the new preface reiterates that the onus for Charles II's poor kingship rests squarely on the shoulders of Louise de Kéroualle (Marschalk, Porch, and Backscheider 390; Bullard 16). Discussed in tandem, *Bath Intrigues* and *The Forced Virgin* demonstrate they ways in which women were both objects of awed suspicion and fear for their perceived command of surveillance, and objects of vulnerability and exploitation because of the social expectation that they would be available and amenable to forms of male surveillance that inevitably culminate in their oppression or erasure. Each narrative under discussion in this chapter both embodies and subtly critiques the rhetorical strategies of *The Spectator*, which advocate for self-surveillance as a means of avoiding some of the behaviors that we encounter in *Bath Intrigues* and *The Forced Virgin*, and purports to teach its readers how to observe without becoming involved.

Both *Bath Intrigues* and *The Forced Virgin* feature scenes of spying that reveal the economic, social, and inner lives of characters that would otherwise remain hidden, and in each of these works, the act of spying interrogates the social forces behind the narrative's central problems. Each positions itself as a revelatory text, so readers approach both *Bath Intrigues* and *The Forced Virgin* expecting revelations of secrets and the existence of conspiracy, albeit at the level of a small community outside London's urban milieu, rather than the heart of a bustling city center or the royal court. In shifting focus from the overtly political to the domestic, moreover, surveillance narratives prime readers to learn about the private lives of private people.

I also argue that these particularly amatory narratives use rhetorical aspects of earlier surveillance narratives in order to put pressure on a set of distinct social concerns. The surveillance narrative is uniquely suited to such interrogation because interrogation of private behaviors in the ostensible service of the public good is the *raison d'etre* for authors of surveillance fiction. In this regard, surveillance fiction becomes more aligned with the domestic novel as the eighteenth-century progresses. It is for this reason, after all, that it is hard to separate real and fictional spies in our understanding of secret services—the fictional stories sometimes tell us more than the limited amount of information we can glean from official histories. Rather than being perceived as a coterie profession made up of individuals independently contracted to various highborn patrons, spying began to be represented in literature as a means of surveying one's friends and neighbors, and even as a form of internal self-regulation.

Most early secret histories have an amatory or scandalous component: the genre of surveillance fiction intersects with other literary forms such as the scandal narrative

and epistolary narrative in order to comment on the particular social issues of the day. As Bullard has noted, "The first three decades of the eighteenth century witness not only changes in the typical content of secret histories, but also the appropriation and adaptation of this form's generic conventions by writers working in genres other than secret history itself" (3). The "appropriation and adaptation" that Bullard discusses continues throughout the century, as surveillance fiction proves itself particularly adept at interpolating social and political concerns within exciting and transporting narrative fiction. In the early decades of the eighteenth century, surveillance fictions began to embrace aspects of the amatory genre that specifically engaged with or criticized social situations unique to non-aristocratic women. Women's interiority is invoked as an intrinsic subject of surveillance.

Women are the primary subjects of *Bath Intrigues* and *The Forced Virgin*, both of which invoke scenarios in which women display both impressive mental fortitude *and* fragility in situations of extreme stress or sexual blackmail. In doing so, and in their emphasis on the particularity of women's interiority and its vulnerability to surveillance, these surveillance narratives call for an enlarged view of female subjecthood. As Gwilliam says of *Pamela* (and as Mahmut confirms), "feminine duplicity…allows masculinity a way to understand itself" (21). These narratives represent the surveyor's fantasy of control, and index moments where that control falters or fails outright. In doing so, they interrogate a series of coercive social structures and argue that these structures fail vulnerable people—especially women—at critical moments. While Lysander's heroine has more in common with the virtuous female protagonist of domestic fiction (she could easily be a precursor to Richardson's *Clarissa*), Haywood's women of Bath are

depicted as similarly vulnerable to the spying eyes of men. The pairing of the widely-known and prolific Haywood with the skilled but subsequently unknown Lysander illustrates that rape in particular was a central cultural preoccupation in and of itself in the 1720s and 1730s (and did not necessarily require an underlying political allegorical message to be relevant subject matter).

Early secret histories tend to claim veracity through "intercepted letters, whispered news and gossip, the intelligence of spies and the grumblings of cast-off mistresses" as sources (Bullard 17), as many of these forms of knowledge were already particularly associated with women. We must also consider the influence of print periodicals on popular sentiments about appropriately feminine attitudes and behavior, especially in contrast with the later surveillance fictions under discussion here. In *The Spectator* 4 (March 5, 1711), Steele, writing as Mr. Spectator, proposes to "dedicate a considerable share of these my speculations to [women's] service" (42). Addison also does not disappoint his readers on this score, commenting on their forms of dress, taste, conversation, and public behavior, and most notably, making it clear that he believes women possess a "natural weakness" of mind, of "light, fantastical disposition" and are easily prey to "every thing that is showy and superficial" (53). As Kathleen Lubey has noted, Mr. Spectator sees women as "fragile aesthetic subjects [who] might opt out of full imaginative engagement, since its force might be too persuasive or overwhelming to manage" ("Erotic Interiors" 438). As positioned in *The Spectator*, women's minds are incapable of deep engagement or exposure to certain forms of conversation or aesthetics because they are easily led and likely to be overwhelmed or overcome, unlike their rational male counterparts. I suggest that what the male spectatorial perspective views as

"natural weakness" actually makes women ideal double agents: uniquely positioned as spies because of the duplicity they learn from conduct manuals and works of fiction. At the same time, women are uniquely vulnerable to being spied upon because of their supposed innate fragility, and their lack of legal and social recourse against male tyranny.

In the early eighteenth century, the gendered divide between public and private life had yet to become as reified as it would in the last decades of the eighteenth century. As Wahrman has pointed out, the entrenchment of gender roles in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century is not the story of patriarchal triumph over an earlier egalitarian social code, but instead represents a moment when gender identity—in particular, the codification of masculine and feminine spaces, and the idea of motherhood and femininity as biological imperatives—became a mainstay of patriarchal power and, it can be argued, aesthetics (13-14). In writing surveillance chronicles about relatively unknown people, rather than about famous court figures (allegorically veiled or otherwise), surveillance chroniclers in this period also participated in the creation of the idea that everyone has an interior life separate from his or her public behavior. Surveillance narratives do not necessarily suggest a response to the quandaries they pose, nor do they act from the same regulatory impulse as conduct manuals or certain periodicals. However, they do contribute to a discourse of multivalence and the idea, perpetuated by the act of reading, that other people also have fully realized interior lives. At the point when *Bath Intrigues* and *The Forced Virgin* were written, however, this codification was still being negotiated within all manner of literary genres.[2] Women's interiority is a central feature of *Bath Intrigues* and *The Forced Virgin* narratives, which seek to interrogate the supposed duplicity that earlier surveillance fictions (such as *The Secret*

*History of the Duchess of Portsmouth*) insist is inherent to female subjectivity. In these examples, we are actually witnessing the codification—and pushback against the codification—of the gendered divide between public and private life.

One further innovation of early eighteenth-century surveillance chronicles is their tendency to address issues of class more directly than their predecessors. These later narratives often strongly feature characters from the middling classes. They are likely to tell stories about people who are not famous political or aristocratic figures, but instead fictional characters (and not allegorical figures) of low or middling birth, whose identities thus require no enciphering. Thus, spying is depicted as a form of middle-class social currency, instead of a political currency, as in the cases of early spy narrators such as Bampfield, Smith, and Mr. Spectator. In many ways, this speaks directly to the issue of social control raised above: middle-class people, after all, have to be good at surveillance if they want to stay middle class (or learn how to rise socially). Middle-class consumer culture, after all, depends on social surveillance, and middle-class people are represented in surveillance fiction as able to learn from and adapt to their social environments, but also as more vulnerable to being surveyed than the aristocracy, as Smith's and Bampfield's narratives attest. Thanks to the mediation of periodical publications such as *The Tatler* and *The Spectator*, which asked their audiences to internalize the idea that they were always being watched, as well as to life writing by spies such as Bampfield and Smith, secret histories and spy narratives from the 1720s onwards feature protagonists who tend to address the consequences of money and class within their narratives, and who also carry on the earlier tradition of using sexual behavior as a barometer for both public and private morality.

In pointing out that surveillance chronicles are preoccupied with middle-class social strictures in this period, I do not mean to suggest that spying ceased to be politicized. Rather, we can think of governmental spying—particular Robert Walpole's extensive spy networks—as part of the process that normalized the idea of constant surveillance. From their inception, newspapers and periodicals regularly reported on both political and social events, blurring the line between the goings-on of remote public figures and in those in one's neighborhood. Another major contributing factor was the broad trend throughout the eighteenth century towards migration to urban centers as Great Britain gradually expanded not only its industrial capabilities, but also fomented the rise of a professional class in its capacity as what John Spurr has called "a bureaucratic and tax-raising machine" (24). However, as Scott Paul Gordon has shown, the idea that such surveillance functions as a force for politeness and social discipline in increasingly expanding urban areas is not as simple or straightforward as it may seem—or as Mr. Spectator might hope—but rather "represents a disciplinary *fantasy*" in the face of a rapidly expanding urban population that was becoming increasingly difficult—for both writers and politicians—to survey fully (90, original italics).

While allowing for increased representation of the private lives of public citizens, surveillance narratives also critique the idea that universal surveillance is a positive, or even effective, force for social regulation. In this regard, these surveillance chronicles offer a counterpoint to the ideal of the neutral bourgeois male surveyor—the prototype for which may be found in the life writing of spies discussed in Chapter One, and in periodical eidolons such as Mr. Spectator—even going so far as to suggest that such a surveyor can be a dangerous presence. The consequence of this approach is that the Mary

Heartfrees of the world are given new prominence in the literature of surveillance; they are able to insist upon the existence of unique female subjectivity capable of engaging in duplicitous behavior when necessary for their own ends, and simultaneously make a case for their bodily and psychological integrity in the face of repeated, astounding instances of male violence, both physical and psychic.

*The Forced Virgin* and *Bath Intrigues* highlight women as both uniquely vulnerable to surveillance and as master surveyors themselves. In order to do this, each uses rhetorical strategies common to surveillance fiction, such as visual and aural spying, and demonstrated particular concern with how women's sexual behavior (even unwilling behavior) has the power to define women socially (for example, it does not occur to *The Forced Virgin*'s Lominia to argue that she should be free to marry Arastes because she did not consent to sex with Lysanor; she knows the rules). Thus, women's counter-surveillance takes the form of narratives that attest to this violence and the explicit disjuncture between such violence and the fantasy of Mr. Spectator's self-regulated realm. Not every woman is allowed to be a rake, but as the surveillance fictions of the 1720s and 1730s and subsequent domestic fictions such as *Pamela* and *Clarissa* maintain, she is inherently a double agent.

## Eliza Haywood's *Bath Intrigues*

In *Bath Intrigues*, as in many of her secret histories, Haywood uses the conventions of what we would today call "citizen journalism" to create up-to-the-moment accounts that are usually dependent on some form of covert observation, including "scenes featuring keyholes, spying, eavesdropping, tell-tale chinks in the wall and so on" (King, "Spying Upon the Conjurer" 45). These tactics are conventions of surveillance

familiar to readers of secret histories, and scandal and amatory fictions; they signal to the reader that she can expect revelation. In the 1720s and 1730s, these conventions of surveillance also become part and parcel of a movement toward telling the tales of non-aristocratic citizens; they are methods for gaining access to narratives that would otherwise remain hidden and undiscussed. These narratives often feature women such as Lominia whose "official" stories (in Lominia's case, the murder of her child and her subsequent suicide) are written so as to preclude discussion of the circumstances surrounding their actions and, as such, their subjectivity, as I shall discuss further below.[3]

*Bath Intrigues* catalogues various forms of social surveillance—including letters, gossip, overheard sexual encounters, and chance encounters on the street—alongside the motivations that people have for wanting access to such information, in order to deny that intelligence can ever be neutral or disinterested. Juliette Merritt has perceived that *Bath Intrigues* "foregrounds a secular system of spying and gossip which includes explicit scenes of sexual voyeurism, scenes which in turn prompt sexual extortion and blackmail" (3). Although I share Merritt's interest in how voyeurism operates in *Bath Intrigues*, I believe that the text is neither a warning solely to women nor simply a bit of "voyeuristic pleasure" for readers (4). Merritt's valuable study is concerned with "Haywood's preoccupation with structures of sight and seeing, especially as they relate to women's assigned place in the gendered, dichotomous structure of subject/object relations" (8). While my interests overlap with Merritt's, I am ultimately concerned with the implications of spying as a political and social act, as suggested by Rivka Swenson's discussion of the mechanics of the gaze in Eliza Haywood's *Anti-Pamela* (1741), than with the relationship between spying and visual culture). Furthermore, as Manushag

Powell has pointed out with regard to *The Spectator*, spying often requires the use of more senses than sight (256). In *Bath Intrigues*, the spy narrator J. B. engages in visual, aural, and textual surveillance—his eyes are closed, for example, when his rape victim has sex with a rake in her parlor's closet; his evidence against her is strictly based on what he hears.

*Bath Intrigues* is one of the inaugural texts of a subgenre of the scandal chronicle situated in the luxurious spa towns that developed during the Restoration and became ever more popular throughout the eighteenth century. Indeed, Haywood's treatment of the spa town as a source of salacious intrigue is revealed as deliberately ironic when we consider Barbara Benedict's point that watering holes such as Bath emerged with the direct mission of creating a refuge for the upper classes that could also tame sexual prurience: "By inducing visitors into an idealized society, and by prescribing 'healthy' consumption, spas promised to cure corrupted sociability, and especially to regulate sexuality" (203).[4] Alison E. Hurley has also noted that spa towns had been associated with sexual excess since the Restoration, and that "[w]hile the reputation of the watering place grew gradually more polite, the erotic intrigue or scandal chronicle remained a narrative type strongly associated with the pleasures of the eighteenth-century spa" (20). J. B.'s narrative indexes this contradiction by suggesting that the spa's "polite" reputation is a convenient fiction, a conspiracy in which all the residents agree to engage in order to push their sexual appetites to the limits. It is only through the presence of a surveyor such as J. B., Haywood implies, that we are able to know anything of the inner-workings of this erotic conspiracy.

Haywood's later periodical, *The Female Spectator* (1744-1746) also draws on the tradition of spa scandal literature that she helped to popularize; as Gordon notes, Haywood's eidolon claims to receive intelligence not only from sources in London, but also in spa towns such as Bath and Tunbridge (95-96). Furthermore, *The Wife* (1756) Haywood's mid-century conduct manual, cautions against the effect that spa can have on married couples, whose exposure to the pleasures of the spa may cause them to become internally dissipated. Another danger, then, is that this dissipation might not be obvious: "a stranger, who only sees [the couple] on the walks, is puzzled to know the truly affectionate pair from those who are only so in appearance, — and that the innocent share in the censure pass'd upon the guilty" (114). It would take a remarkable spy, then, to know the difference.

The "intrigues" in *Bath Intrigues* are therefore, unsurprisingly, sexual, which marks *Bath Intrigues* as a strong example of the generic overlap between secret history and scandal fiction. The epigraph outwardly admits that the motives here are prurient: "There is Lust in man, no Awe can Tame / in Loudly publishing his Neighbor's Shame."[5] The association between sex and "intrigue," or conspiracy, is presumed by the title, while the epigraph adds the revelatory dimension associated with surveillance fictions, conflating lust for information with sexual desire. *Bath Intrigues* is not structured as a single, overarching story but as a series of tidbits of salacious gossip driven by the arrival and dispatch of the penny post between London and Bath.[6] Like Mr. Spectator, J. B. addresses types, rather than specific individuals; their names—Lady Playwell, Captain Aimwell, Sir Thomas Worthy, etc.—signal their prevailing virtues and vices to the reader. The narrative takes the form of four letters from J. B., initially intended as reports

to his friend Will, in London, on "the behavior of the ladies here in general," and specifically on Will's particular object of interest, the "adorable Cloe" (B). Cloe, however, is firmly ensconced with her relatives and seems to be behaving herself better than anyone else in Bath, where virtue has less to do with private practice than with getting caught. *Bath Intrigues* is markedly different from Haywood's other fiction of this era, which tends to focus on the misfortunes that befall individual women who are unwise, or unlucky, in love. J. B.'s power as a narrator and a spy stems from his mission to found out who is having sex with whom and where.

While *Bath Intrigues* is certainly "a perceptive enquiry into women's vulnerability within a specular social field that privileges male looking and confirms woman in her traditional place as object of sight" (Merritt 3-4), Haywood uses surveillance to critique both male and female sexual behaviors, and also to point out that acts of surveillance such as J. B.'s ultimately implicate the surveyors. Over the course of his surveillance, J. B. gives up the pretense of being an observing and impartial spectator, so much so that his surveillance leads him to blackmail and rape one of his hostesses. Thus, the ostensible purpose of his correspondence—to spy on the (at least outwardly) innocent Cloe—becomes subsumed by stories about the sexual escapades of Bath's inhabitants, including J. B. himself. Unable to claim Mr. Spectator's removed neutrality, our narrator gradually succumbs to the temptation to join in on the fun. Haywood may be making fun of the implied impartiality of famed surveyors such as Mr. Spectator, and more broadly and more soberly, asking readers to reflect on what might motivate people to spy, to gossip, and to participate in "intrigues." In doing so, she implicates spies such as J. B., and supposedly neutral observers such as Mr. Spectator, as well as readers of surveillance

chronicles. J. B., who begins by positioning himself as an impartial spy, finds himself drawn into the salacious world himself, and thus becomes fully implicated in that which he attempts to report on. J. B.'s behavior is a warning to readers that they too could find themselves the subject of their own observations.

I began this chapter by arguing that secret histories in the early decades of the eighteenth century become less concerned with the private lives of particular aristocrats, and more likely to feature individuals from the middle classes. *Bath Intrigues* does take a cue from the court secret histories of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries in offering a glimpse into the inner workings of a private world accessible only to the wealthy. However, the narrative comments on this generic shift by remarking upon several moments of tension between landed aristocrats and newly wealthy merchant traders. In doing so, *Bath Intrigues* also indexes the larger social phenomenon that was the changing social strata in the early eighteenth century, as foreign trade grew steadily and became ever more crucial to Great Britain's economic health and the nation's perception of itself. These moments all have to do with love affairs gone awry, which calls attention to the uneasy relationship among sex, money, and secrecy.

*Bath Intrigues* specifically singles out women as already experts in duplicity, backstage maneuvering, and secret strategies, and one particular example illustrates how women's economic freedom guarantees their sexual liberty. J. B. openly admires the duplicity of Lady Lear, who manages to indulge in multiple love affairs while also maintaining a spotless reputation: "she has held, for many months together in her chains, the most dissolute rovers." Lady Lear is also the trustee of her sister's fortune, even though her sister is married, which customarily meant that that control of her money

would revert to her husband. Thus we are given to understand that Lady Lear manages men the same way she manages her own and other people's money (39-40). Her name, "Lear" is a homophone of "leer," which itself suggests a form of unauthorized and uncomfortable visual surveillance. Yet while Lady Lear is a figure of ridicule, there is no doubt that she is powerful: her leering has made it possible for her to achieve considerable sexual, social, and financial power, after all.

Take, for example, the case of "the peer, with a great equipage, and no estate" who falls in love with "the wife of a certain citizen" (28). The peer's "great equipage" is a likely double-entendre, suggesting a high degree of sexual virility in contrast to his lower socioeconomic position. Meanwhile, the lady is wealthy through her connections to trade, the peer is of an aristocratic family but has no claim to land of his own. The peer's concern with his finances takes precedence over his wooing when he comes to visit the lady and finds himself on a winning streak during a game of cards. When he finally attempts to get down to business, as it were, she rebuffs him, saying "as great a passion as you now would make me believe you have for my person, you had a much greater a while ago for my money" (29). J. B. delights in telling this story, calling it "informations more agreeable" (28); he thoroughly supports the Citizen's wife, using her story to reinforce his own and his reader's beliefs about the mercenary nature of such affairs.

A less pleasant tale indexes the social friction between the moneyed and the titled by detailing the affair of Jack Townley, another aristocratic younger brother in government service who "has been a considerable gainer in the South-Sea scheme," and through the power of his rising his stock has managed to force his older brother, who presumably has borne the burden of the early eighteenth-century's heavy land taxes, to

sell some of the family land to him. Townley learns the hard way that his wealth may have gained him land and social position, but it does not guarantee him access to sex when he is discovered in bed with the wife of a tradesman, "who, by a hearty beating, let him know that all citizens are not of a humour to barter their wives' honesty for the gaining a good customer" (24). J. B. tells these stories to Will because they illustrate how information can be entangled with interest, as J. B will soon discover firsthand.

Both men and women are equally vulnerable to J. B.'s campaign of surveillance, and J. B. even demonstrates particular sympathy for women in unfortunate marriages. One of the largest continuous sections of the narrative, which is otherwise a series of brief pastiches of daily life during high season in the spa town, is a compassionate vindication of the behavior of a woman named Amanda, the subject of much town gossip for her recent love affairs. J. B. reveals that Amanda was married while very young to a much older man in a match arranged between the man and her parents. Amanda has until recently attempted to reform her husband—whose unfaithfulness has subsequently resulting in her contracting a venereal disease—by following typical conduct manual advice[7] for a wife and "never upbraiding him with what was passed" (19). Finally, at the urgings of her friends, she begins an affair with Cleanthus, hoping her husband's jealousy will spur him to restore their marriage. Amanda's reputation is, however, subsequently ruined. J. B. understands Amanda's position and does not condemn her for having an affair because she was "provok'd to, by all that can urge a woman's just resentment" (21). Thus, he provides her story as an instance of "wheels-within-wheels," a series of events that counteracts a received, or official, narrative (Bullard 19); an example to Will that there is a world of information to be found between what someone does and why they do

it (*Bath Intrigues* 19). The narrative's interest in women as already exemplary spies, skilled at using information to gain financial and sexual control, reinforces this point.

The language of violence in *Bath Intrigues* is also the language of seduction; the language of sex and money are similarly entwined. Earlier in this chapter, I mentioned Lubey's interpretation of Joseph Addison's use of erotic language; her central point is that Addison uses erotic language to describe aesthetic experiences and that these descriptors "dilute[] the substance of the aesthetic experience by purging it of the power to excite inwardly" ("Erotic Interiors" 439). By conflating architecture and erotics linguistically, Lubey argues, Addison seeks to blunt the suggestive edge of amatory description. In drawing out the erotic comparison, Addison neutralizes the effects of sexually-charged language on the reader. According to Lubey, Haywood takes an opposing approach, choosing to capitalize on the sensuous power of erotic language in order to draw her readers' attention to the intense erotic feelings of the amatory situations she describes and to their unfortunate consequences ("Eliza Haywood's Amatory Aesthetic" 310). Thus, when Haywood describes Amanda as being "attack'd" by Cleanthus, we are to understand Cleanthus's attack as being, all at once, a demonstration of his erotic interest, a literal subjugation of her person, and a metaphorical smear on her reputation (*Bath Intrigues* 20).

We can conclude, then, that the true intrigue at Bath is not between the innocent Cloe and some young man, as J. B.'s suspicious correspondent fears, but between J. B.'s surveying eyes and anyone he wishes to control through his intelligence-gathering activities. J. B.'s spying culminates in his unabashed description of raping a woman in her garden. The way the scene plays out affirms the spy's transition from *watcher* to *actor*:

what he witnesses compels him to act, which renders the spy an explicit participant, rather than a conduit for information. This is a significant point when we consider how later spies are allowed and, indeed, compelled, to act on the information that they glean. James Bond has a license to kill, not to watch and moreover, he and his ilk are associated with the same kind of sexual licentiousness J. B. here displays. Whereas earlier spy narratives and secret histories reported on the sexual escapades of other people, from the early eighteenth-century on we can expect to see the spy engage in sexual antics of his own.

J. B. achieves his object by using the remarkable strategies of surveillance he has employed throughout the text in the service of his friend to suit his own aims. He begins by pretending to be in a drunken stupor as an excuse to overhear some conversation that he hopes pertains to his correspondent; while giving every appearance of being down for he count he "retain'd my senses as well as ever; by this means I had the opportunity of observing every thing, without being suspected to be capable of observing anything" (34). Through this subterfuge, he contrives to observe his hostess, whose husband is in London, entertain a rake alone in her parlor:

> The glass went briskly about, and when every body was, as I tell you, grown in all appearance *non compos mentis*, they withdrew into a little chamber within the parlour, where they could immediately hear if any of the servants came in, as I could, who sat pretty near the door, all the pass'd between them. You know, dear Will, I am not very amorous, but the luscious conversation I listen'd to, the beauty of the woman, who is certainly one of the finest creatures in the world, and the great quantity of

> wine I had drank, altogether inflam'd my blood, and I began to wish myself in my friend's place…I never labour'd under more uneasiness in my whole life, than I did that moment between envy of his happiness, and desire of succeeding him in it. (35)

This moment indexes a change in J. B. from an impartial observer to a fully implicated one. The experience is ultimately sensory: the sound of the couple having sex, the sight of the woman's beauty, and the alcohol he has imbibed all compound to "inflame" him and then, like a reader of romance novels, he pictures himself inhabiting the scene to which he is an aural witness. J. B.'s next step is to act on these observations: he emerges from his pretended faint to corner her after she leaves the room and blackmail her into sleeping with him by "[giving] her to understand that nothing but allowing me the same favour she had done him, should buy my secrecy" (37). Our ostensibly impartial observer, who has entertained us with the various sexual peccadilloes of Bath's citizenry, is now an active participant in the behavior that he has been sent to monitor and report upon. J. B. is explicitly spurred to action by the sound of sex ("luscious conversation"): would he have followed his hostess into the garden if he had overheard her talking about politics? In this regard, the surveillance narrative's generic overlap with amatory and scandal fiction is significant because sex provides the impetus for the spy's action.

At the very close of the narrative, several breakdowns of intelligence raise questions about the limits of surveillance. J. B. is almost forced to fight a duel based on a misunderstanding (45-49), and a young lady has been forcibly removed from Bath from a man who looks old enough to be her father, but may be her husband. No one can discern who he is or where they have gone, and J. B.'s usual sources seem stymied: "Time will,

perhaps, unravel the mystery; but our people, who, as I told you before, are exquisite in their art of getting intelligence, are uneasy beyond expression, that they have it not in their power to give an explanation of this adventure" (43). Beyond being an excellent teaser for a potential sequel, J. B.'s phrasing reveals that spying has its limits, and there are, and always will be, people powerful enough to make other people disappear in the night.

In *Bath Intrigues*, information that people try to keep private is easily available to an informed surveyor who can make it public at a moment's notice. Furthermore, one can never be sure that one is entirely alone, even in one's own closet—spies can see, hear, and deduce, although the information they return may or may not be accurate. At the same time, intelligence may be incorrect, biased, or maliciously deployed. *Bath Intrigues* thus supports Swenson's argument that "the thing seen occupies a primary, causal status in its ability to transform the seeing subject's ontology"; there is no such thing as an observer who is unaffected by what he sees (29). The sexualized nature of J. B.'s chronicle adds an erotic dimension to the spy's implication in that which he surveys. *Bath Intrigues* thus functions as both a warning to women to guard their intrigues, and a heroic catalogue of their erotic daring.

*The Forced Virgin; Or, The Unnatural Mother*

In *The Forced Virgin*, alternative forms of knowledge, including meta-textual references to other heroines in situations like Lominia's, emerge through the narrative's use of private and ever-more fantastical spaces that allow the reader glimpses of the heroine's mental and emotional state and critique the social and economic forces that make Lominia's trauma so sadly inevitable. Her story highlights her physical and social

vulnerability and calls attention to the paradoxical portrayal of women as both powerless and yet strangely capable of complicity in their own rapes and abductions. As Marschalk, Porch, and Backscheider suggest, *The Forced Virgin* is part of a larger literary turn in the 1730s towards the "expos[ure] of rape as a violent, hostile, even misogynistic act perpetrated on women, with hideous effects on both sexes" (408). While *The Forced Virgin* is a graphic social critique of the paltry legal and social recourses available to women who have been raped, I also suggest the narrative collapses any distinction between rape perpetrated by an overtly villainous abductor common to scandal fictions and marital, or acquaintance, rape. Lominia's trajectory toward murder is made all the more radical by the overt sympathy her situation provokes; her rape is presented as an event in which she in not complicit but that nevertheless sets in motion a tragic chain reaction that concludes with her death and the complete destabilization of the seemingly impregnable social structures of family, marriage, and class that generate her rapists' initial motivations.

To offer a brief-summary of this relatively unknown text: Lominia is "the daughter of a wealthy merchant in the northern part of this kingdom" (2); while upper class, she is not linked to any particular political or social realm, although her status as a merchant's daughter probably means that her family is not connected with the landed aristocracy. She is loved by the virtuous Arastes, who has a rival in the wealthy, evil Lysanor. Lysanor abducts her from her family's garden through an otherworldly landscape, rapes her, and attempts to gain her consent to marriage. Lominia escapes by killing him and finding her way home, but her subsequent pregnancy and another rape—this time at Arastes's hands—leads her to murder her child for fear that his existence will

betray the rape she has kept hidden. She is sentenced to death, although she ultimately takes her own life, leaving notes for her family and Arastes about the reason for her actions.

*The Forced Virgin* marks itself as a surveillance narrative in an unusual manner, in that it directly refers to a work by Prokopius, whose *Anekdota*, translated in 1674, sparked the rage for secret histories in the late Restoration period. *Anekdota*, which means "hidden things," is an unofficial history. The moment before Lysanor rapes Lominia is prefigured in one of *The Forced Virgin*'s source texts, Prokopius's sixth-century annals, *History of the Wars*, which are the precursor to his famous secret history, *Anekdota*. In Book Three, an unnamed young woman about to be raped by the Emperor Valentinian is taken into his court and "received by those who had been assigned to this service by the emperor, and led into a certain room far removed from the women's apartments, where Valentinian met her and forced her, much against her will" (9-10). This story was adapted into a play, first by John Fletcher and then by the Earl of Rochester (Rochester's lover and protégé, Elizabeth Barry, played the Lominia-like character, Lucina).[8] In invoking *Valentinian* at the beginning of the narrative and the Valentinian story in Prokopius's account immediately before Lominia's rape, *The Forced Virgin* extends the secret history from the court to the lives of ordinary citizens by drawing parallels between court intrigues that can lead to sanctioned rape in the name of absolutist power and the tyranny that men such as Lysanor and Arastes—and later, the men of domestic novels such as, for instance, Richardson's *Pamela* and Burney's *Evelina*—can and do practice upon any woman whom they choose.

The men abusing power in *The Forced Virgin* and in later domestic fictions are representative of middle-class patriarchy, rather than the high aristocracy; surveillance fiction thus extends its critique of political abuse to include these middle-class representatives. Most earlier surveillance narratives are concerned with drawing attention to tyranny and their revelations are, at least ostensibly, an attempt to fight the kinds of concealment that despots rely on for their power. *The Forced Virgin*, on the other hand, is indicative of a moment when the genre transferred its concerns about tyrant kings to the more amorphous, but equally relevant, fear that coercive social structures could be just as tyrannical as arbitrary despots. In terms of contemporary history, *The Forced Virgin* speaks to a moment when the English monarchy was relatively stable, but subsumed by what many saw as the petty tyranny of the Walpolean government, particularly against writers (Beasley 414-415). In what is perhaps an oblique critique of Walpole, bourgeois men, rather than tyrant kings, use surveillance in these narratives to practice tyranny on their social and political inferiors.

Lysanor and Arastes are landed gentlemen, but they are not political movers or shakers and they spend too much time in the country to be part of London's social elite. *The Forced Virgin* thus extends political abuse to include the middle-class patriarchy, rather than focusing primarily on the bad behavior of the political aristocracy. Lysanor's wealth does not seem to have gained him social status within the British aristocratic hierarchy, but rather associates him with oriental despots, markers of exotic excess. His suspiciously oriental wealth compares unfavorably with Arastes's landed capital, which is adjacent to that of Lominia's family and marks him as a member of the gentry. However, Arastes never represented as Lysanor's his social or economic superior. Significantly, his

rape of Lominia shows that his position as a country gentleman does not in any way distinguish him from the character of the rapacious and exoticized Lysanor. His social position does not temper his crime against her in any way; if anything, it suggests to the reader that rapists come in all guises and that even seemingly well-meaning family friends and landed gentlemen are potential offenders.

*The Forced Virgin* thus cunningly compares Lysanor, the classically evil rake who seems straight out of both Restoration drama and oriental tales (prefigures both Richardson's Lovelace and the gothic villains of the later eighteenth century) with Arastes, who seems to sincerely care for Lominia, and who has all the attributes of the wealthy, educated, landed gentleman who later becomes a domestic ideal. Arastes is just as dangerous to Lominia as Lysanor; even more so, perhaps because he rapes her stealthily and then interferes with her attempts to control the consequences. And there is another reason why Arastes is such a peculiarly constructed villain: he is never explicitly discussed as one. In her suicide note, Lominia implies that if she had known he was the father of her child, she would have acted differently: perhaps they would have married, joined their families' estates, and lived out the domestic ideal of the landed classes. After all, most of the characters—including Lominia's parents—never know about either of her rapes. Instead of this domestic resolution, the family estates that would have been joined through their marriage (Arastes's property adjoins that of Lominia's family) are brought together, after Lominia's death and Arastes's voluntary exile, when Arastes leaves his land to Lominia's father's male heir, an eight-year-old boy. Lominia's rape is a crime of property, not person; the offense is against pre-existing male claims to her by her father and Arastes. Her rape is only a crime insofar as it means that she cannot fulfill her duty to

the patriarchal order within the bounds of matrimony. Here, there is no tyrant to defeat in order to restore social order, because the social order is itself the tyrant.

The anonymous author's dedication of the narrative to an upper-class woman named Jane Blachford implies that the events recounted in *The Forced Virgin* are true, or at least a riff on a true story; the existence of the text itself is a mark of Blachford's pity for Lominia ("Dedication"). However, instead of following a realist narrative strategy to tell the story of a young woman's rape, as Richardson would in *Clarissa* nearly two decades later, the author of *The Forced Virgin* deliberately eschews realism at the most emotionally heightened moments in the narrative, focusing instead on Lominia's private, interior self in order to suggest that rape is more than a violation of property rights, but also a form of psychic desecration. As Helen Thompson suggests, part of the domestic novel's critique of the free Lockean subject manifests itself in "the problem of the materiality of the body" (*Ingenuous Subjection* 13). Thus, the graphic nature of Lominia's rape and her subsequent infanticide jarringly calls attention to the disparity between the sometimes-romanticized idea of seduction and its brutal reality. The text invites readers to survey the effect of a series of devastating events on Lominia's interior subjectivity, and to notice the double narrative that emerges: one that condemns Lominia for infanticide and the other that pities and attempts to understand.

At the most basic level, this double narrative is embodied in the text's extended title: *The Forced Virgin: Or the Unnatural Mother, a Secret History*. The first part of the title elicits more sympathy than the second by conjuring up the idea of rape, implied by the adjective "forced." The second half, however, is a condemnation of maternal misconduct and implies fault. If we link the two clauses together in a chain of cause-and-

effect, however, we can see a larger picture: simply put, to force a virgin is to go against the natural order. This aspect of the title puts pressure on the individual and social forces that create the conditions for such an event. *The Forced Virgin* thus defines the natural order over and against the options afforded to women under the middle-class patriarchal structure.[9] In this regard, the narrative is a radical break with prior eighteenth-century depictions of matricide.

*The Forced Virgin* is part of a series of brief narratives, some of them criminal biographies, of "unnatural mothers"—and titled *The Unnatural* Mother—written in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century. Two of the earliest of these, a brief broadside account from 1697 and a play performed at Lincoln's Inn Fields in 1697, are overtly unsympathetic to the titular unnatural mothers, depicting them as curious objects worthy of revulsion. The first details the case of a woman named Elizabeth Kennet, who is accused of flinging her newborn baby on the fire and then claiming that the bones found in the hearth belonged to a lamb. Her husband is portrayed sympathetically (he was conveniently taking a walk whilst his wife committed matricide). Kennet is alleged to have committed the murder on Tuesday, April 6, which was Easter week; the narrative thus draws heavy-handed comparison between the sacrificed child, the sacrificial lamb, and the crucifixion of Christ. The explication of her crime focuses not just on the aspect of matricide by on the primal nature of Kennet's method, which is compared to ritual sacrifice and thus amplifies the reader's alienation from Kennet's psychological state. Kennet apparently confessed before a judge, but pleaded extenuating circumstances—the child, she said, was a "monster, by having of two heads" (2). The brief account ends with Kennet being remanded to Newgate (as was Lominia) to await judgment; presumably she

will also be sentenced to hang. Kennet is accused not only of murder but of malice aforethought and of conspiring to hide her crime; her psychology is completely opaque and the writer is not interested in probing her motivations, but only in presenting Kennet as a ghastly spectacle of pathological sin.

*The Unnatural Mother: The Scene in the King of Siam*[10] is a she-tragedy by "a young lady" that comes closer to sympathizing with its heroine, although it still portrays her as a brutal murderer. *The Forced Virgin* has a great deal in common with the Restoration genre of the she-tragedy, in which women's pain and psychological suffering figure as inevitable and are inherent aspects of the narrative structure. If we consider *The Forced Virgin* as a surveillance fiction that renders certain elements of the she-tragedy into prose narrative, particularly the "suffering and death of a female protagonist, whose protracted 'distress' represents the tragedy's main action" (Marsden 502), the narrative's extended emphasis on Lominia's psychological sufferings becomes part of a larger picture of how women's suffering in itself generates plot. Metatextual references alluding to earlier female prototypes for Lominia, such as Rochester's and Procopius's Valentinian-narratives and the more broadly-known legend of Lucretia, also situate *The Forced Virgin* within a larger tradition of stories about women whose selfhood and interiority are sacrificed to predatory men. I shall discuss each of these elements individually in the section below.

The "unnatural mother" aspect of the double narrative situates Lominia's narrative within a moral structure that values a woman's sexual purity above all other aspects of her selfhood. This moralizing voice, which ends the text by admonishing female readers "From hence, ye fair, learn to detest the deed / Which made this guilty

maid as guilty bleed" (40),[11] attempts to create some type of didactic framework around Lominia's story. This voice that opens the text also concludes it by reassuring readers that all has not been lost; the dynasty that Arastes and Lominia would have created by joining their estates has instead been fulfilled by Lominia's father's heir, the aforesaid eight-year-old. Now fully grown, the heir has assumed control of the property and the moralizing voice offers a description of his lovely wife, "rich in every female virtue," that seems designed to contrast with the Lominia's tainted image (40). *The Forced Virgin*'s critique lies in the graphic depiction of Lominia's experience of rape, and its consequences: the economic and social equilibrium in the placid pastoral world of the beginning of the text is completely destabilized and only ostensibly regained at the very end of the text through Lominia's execution. Economic and social equilibrium has ostensibly been regained for another generation, although at the cost of a woman's reputation and life.

The oppositional side of this didactic register, however, allows the reader access to Lominia's psychological state, and ultimately provides Lominia with a measure of interior subjectivity that the moralizing narrative voice attempts to co-opt. This narrative voice provides an often-graphic first-person understanding of Lominia's trauma, and reflects Miranda Burgess's contention that alternative forms of knowledge emerge through women's voices in narratives about social structures, and specifically social injustices (399). This alternative knowledge competes with the didactic register within the text to suggest that Lominia's plight is not a morality tale of ruined virtue, but instead is a reflection of the troubled reality of transferring patrilineage through women's bodies. For example, a quotation from Rochester's *Valentinian* precedes the frontispiece to *The Forced Virgin*: "—How strange a riddle virtue is / They never miss it who possess it not /

And they who have it ever find a want." By suggesting instead that people with virtue tend to suffer more than those without it, this epigraph offers a counterpoint to the quotation that ends the text by referring to the "deed which made this guilty maid as guilty bleed." Virtue in *The Forced Virgin* is so explicitly tied to virginity that Lominia's rape is portrayed the first link in the inevitable chain of events that eventually leads her to commit infanticide.

Lominia's inner life is also reflected through several narrative strategies that crucially mark her as both unwilling and unable to consent to sex. As Toni Bowers has argued, the representation of rape victims' interiority in the early eighteenth century was part of a series of narrative developments that allowed readers to distinguish rape from seduction: "Alongside (and sometimes within) writing that used rape figuratively…the inner lives of the brutalized began to come into focus" (17). The text's frontispiece, as I discuss below, foreshadows the narrative's engagement with landscape as a reflection of Lominia's interior psychological state. The geographical details of Lominia's journey and the out-of-body experience she undergoes during her rape act as metonyms for her selfhood as she descends into madness. Madness in this text takes the form of detachment from her environment and a new tendency violence that reciprocates the violence of her rape. Lominia's madness is represented differently from Elizabeth Kennet's, which removes Kennet from the realm of the human and into monstrosity. Lominia's psychological detachment during her rape is portrayed as a momentary reprieve from the physical violence being done to her body, although it is clear that there is no possibility that she will ever return to the mental condition she possessed prior to the rape.

The frontispiece—unusual in secret histories, but common in romances, and perhaps an attempt to appeal to a market already inundated with scandal fiction—begins this work for the reader before she even encounters the text. The image is of a dark, twisty tree in the foreground and, in the middle ground, a woman kneeling over the corpse of a child, flanked on either side by a man (Figure 2). The trees form a series of frames that ultimately converge on a central figure of a young woman. The outer frame on the left-hand side is the darkest and most foregrounded, looming over the picture, while a smaller hedge rises across the picture diagonally from left to right, drawing the eye to the taller of the two men on either side of the kneeling lady. She is the lightest of the human figures, and her positioning—with hands spread out and the figure of her dead child underneath her—resembles a Pietà's posture of lamentation.[12] Her gaze is directed skyward and she seems oblivious to the grasp that the man on her right has on her shoulders. The lightness of her figure corresponds to the lightness of the pastoral scene in the upper part of the image, aligning her with the sky, cottage, and meadow, rather than the dark cavern of foliage that surrounds her. The frontispiece contrasts the pastoral and the domestic, in light tones and straight lines, with the wild and untamed, registered in darker shades and lines that twist and heavy, punctuating shapes.

While urban spy narratives involve the spy's negotiation of crowds, the movement from the court and the city to the country entails different logistics. In *The Forced Virgin*, spying is made possible by the attributes of the pastoral landscape. In this regard, *The Forced Virgin* draws a distinction between the type of spying that happens in the urban milieu, which is a distinctly social form of spying (usually the spy finds cover in the crowd) that can be undertaken by anyone who wishes to try it, and the type of spying

common in domestic fiction which involves distinctly private spaces (usually interiors occupied by the family and servants) wherein spying is made possible by the very nature of the space. The symbolic significance of pastoral spaces changed throughout the eighteenth century, as more people moved to urban areas and the distinctions between city and country life grew starker (about thirty percent of people lived in urban centers by the end of the eighteenth century) (Harvey 159). Eighteenth-century landscape design, for instance, attempts to curb, cultivate, and control the growth of flora and fauna; Karen Harvey sees this as a metonym for eighteenth-century attempts to develop or curtail particular types of female qualities (160). At the same time, however, eighteenth-century erotica was also preoccupied with pastoral locations, and tended to sexualize "lush, outdoor, rural settings and calm, tranquil spots," such as Lominia's garden, while also portraying country women as "shameless but innocent" (162).[13] *The Forced Virgin* unfolds as a potential piece of erotica, at least until Lominia's abduction from the garden, and features the same set pieces that Harvey denotes as characteristic of pastoral English erotica, including " the enclosed outdoor space of a shaded sexualized location…distinguished from other parts of the landscape by the oaks which repelled daylight" (165).[14] She also notes that such spaces were designed to appeal to the erotic sensibilities of men *and* women, which reinforces the fact that, prior to her abduction, Lominia seems to be enjoying her erotically tinged relationship with Arastes. At the point of her abduction by Lysanor, the tone of the text darkens and the reader is faced with the realization that Lysanor had been watching Lominia and Arastes from afar for some time. In revealing Lysanor as a spy, the narrative also confirms that he is an unequivocal danger to her, and this danger is imbricated in the very landscape.

Lominia's physical journey takes her through a series of cloistered, phantasmagoric spaces that, while fantastical, also mirror the traumatic nature of what is done to her. Over the course of her abduction, Lysanor is revealed to be not only Lominia's neighbor and a rival for her affections, but the captain of a band of brigands and master of a sumptuous, orientalist cavern that calls to mind the dark, lush castle settings of later Gothic novels. Lominia's swiftly changing environment—from home, to erotic arbor, to Eastern-inflected dungeon, reflects her fracturing mental state.

Her initial abduction takes place in a "curious arbor…where the sunbeams unresisted force could scarcely shine," much like the one featured in the frontispiece, where Arastes and Lominia have met for a rendezvous (4-5). This arbor notably recalls the she-tragedy *The Unnatural Mother*, which depicts an arbor as an ambivalent site of secrecy and a likely spot for rape: the heroine is lured there by her brother on the pretext that he wishes to discuss "a secret of that great importance that the remotest corner of this wood is hardly private enough"; the secret is his desire for her and the remoteness of the arbor spurs on his attempt to rape her (10). Lysanor is able to carry out his ambush because Arastes's desire to be with Lominia in private leads Arastes to draw her into the dark, unprotected arbor. It is also implied that if Lysanor had *not* abducted Lominia at this moment, chances are good that Arastes might have raped her himself, because he sees in the arbor "a darkness not horrid or terrible, but such as an eager lover desires with his glorious prize" (5). In leaving the orderly, cultivated garden and entering the arbor, Lominia has become vulnerable to both Arastes's and Lysanor's desires. In the context of the surveillance genre, and as we have already seen within the comic register of *Bath*

*Intrigues*, women—especially virtuous women—are marked as objects of constant, often unwitting, surveillance and this surveillance is by no means benevolent.

Once he has absconded from the garden with Lominia, Lysanor avoids "the publick roads" and heads straight through another dark forest where "spraicy briars and prickly thorns were strongly wove together and made a just defense," and further still to "a verdant plain, wherein nature had formed a secret cave and which these ruffians (Lysanor's band of criminals) chose from their residence." It seems Lominia has accessed, via the arbor, an imaginary landscape familiar from fairy tales and picaresque narratives, and foreshadowing of late eighteenth-century gothic fiction. During this exodus, Lominia emotionally detaches from her situation, retreating inward and "dying in the perplexed wildness of her thoughts" until "a sudden stop recall'd her strolling senses back to knowledge" (10). The fantastical elements of her journey, coupled with the knowledge that Lominia is not in her right mind during these proceedings, informs the reader that the landscape parallels Lominia's interior experience.

The fantastical imagery continues, and with it the implication that Lominia is being further and further removed from a world in which she can be said to consent to what happens to her: within the cave, Lominia is forcefully dragged into "a room, in appearance, more like a palace, than a place of so villainous a retreat" (11). Lysanor and his band of renegades resemble fantastical, even oriental, figures—Lysanor, in his cave, somehow manages to be sumptuously clad and lounging on a purple sofa, deliberately evocative of the oriental excess sometimes aligned with sexual excess (11). Lysanor orders that she be clothed "in gaudy pomp" and led to a bedchamber "to receive 'my throbbing love" (14). The ornate chamber is luxuriously appointed, lined with cedar;

[with] pictures of the finest pencils" (14). Again, two narrative registers oppose one another: Lominia would have, at one point, been utterly engrossed in the beauties that surrounded her—markers of an age of consumerism, curiosity, and novelty—but the awareness of her impending ordeal overshadows her sumptuous surroundings. Images of high fancy contrast with the reality of Lominia's impending rape in these unreal, yet all too real, spaces. This paradox emphasizes a stark distinction between romantic settings associated with amatory fiction and the reality that many of the encounters represented therein ignore or elide female consent.

Lominia's surroundings become otherworldly at the same time as she experiences what could be called a psychological break. Her rape is one of the most explicit in scandal fiction, and is worth quoting in full because of its vivid emphasis on Lominia's intense struggle to get away and her intense suffering when she cannot:

> No sooner had the salvages [*sic*] executed their tyrant lord's command, and left the distracted fair alone; but Lysanor, impatient of delay, already prepared for the direful act, came hasty in; from forth his burning orbs the destructive lightn'ing flew; — his whole frame shook with boiling joy; lust, not love, sway'd his soul, and nothing less than Lominia's ruin possessed his brain. The door at his first entrance he secured; when with a sudden turn he seized the trembling maid; — The beauteous fair, press'd in his rough and harden'd arms, by more than manly force he bore with pleasure to his stately bed: in vain she prayed, his lust had shut his ears to such intreaties. — in vain she strove to stay his raging flames; regard to her virtue, or fear of future punishment, could make no room for a

> moment's delay; he had her now in full possession, and was resolved to use the wished-for hour; with one hand intangled in her hair, he held the maiden down; while the other furthered him to compleat his hellish purpose. (14-15)

The scene is notable for its protracted and unequivocal depiction of wanton sexual violence. Lysanor's arms and hands and Lominia's hair act as stand-ins for their entire bodies, allowing the reader to envision the act taking place without a full physical description. The rape is then re-narrated through a monologue Lysanor speaks in response to Lominia's "intreaties," forcing the reader to experience the event twice. As Bowers points out, in the early eighteenth century, "representations [of rape]…began to recognize the intimate damage of rape to individual women, and to develop ever more stringent requirements for the resistance that marked it" (17). Thus, it is crucial that the reader witnesses the virgin being "forced" so that there can be no doubt about the nature of the event. The graphic nature of Lominia's rape, with its particular emphasis on the futility of her struggle against Lysanor's "more than manly force" (which aligns him, rather than her, with monstrosity) affirms for the reader that this encounter cannot be interpreted as dubiously consensual.

Like Richardson's Clarissa, Lominia copes with her trauma through mental detachment and "a fixed frenzy ruled her mind, anon reason regained her throne, and harrowed all her brain." In her lucid moments, Lominia warns Lysanor in vain that he is watched by heaven: "Though secret…from the eyes of men, an almighty power sees your actions, and will too soon justly punish the offender" (15). Her threat that his secrets will be revealed seems, perversely, to spur Lysanor's enjoyment of his violation:

> My soul's on the wing! O enjoyment! Unable for Expression, — I melt, — I die, — I live, — I feel your charms; the balmy bliss revives my drooping soul, and I'm all ecstasy! — O glorious scene of such enchanting substance! My soul shall ravage every secret avenue. — Love's torch shall flame transparent o'er our beds, and light us to new joys… (15-16)

To Lysanor, rape is a legitimate means to an end. Lysanor is determined that his sexual union with Lominia should lead to a legitimate and legal affective relationship, but his narration makes it clear that this union depends first on violating her in secret. Lominia's threats that he will be found out simply aren't that threatening to Lysanor who assumes that Lominia's parents will be glad to consent to a match not in spite of but *because* of his rape of their daughter. These expectations are fully in line with mid-eighteenth century social expectations that a virtuous woman's duty is to love the man her parents chose for her. Now that he has experienced the sexual pleasure he so longed for, he looks forward to returning her to her parents, gaining their consent to matrimony, and settling into domestic bliss. In fact, Lysanor's lust is fueled by the secrecy of their circumstances, and by Lominia's contention that his secrets will be revealed; for Lysanor, this is an erotic prospect, an opportunity for him to "ravage every secret avenue," rather than a threatening idea that a vengeful and surveying god will exact revenge on him for his crime. If the narrative purpose of the secret history is to reveal what has previously been hidden, Lysanor deflects Lominia's hope that the revelation of what he has done could possibly make a difference. And he is right—God does not come to Lominia's aid; it is up to her to fulfill her own prophesy and "justly punish" Lysanor.

There are notable parallels between Lominia and the legendary Lucretia, a powerful figure in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century socio-political and theatrical imagery. Rather than appealing to innocence in the face of tyrannical absolutism, as in familiar Restoration re-imaginings of the Lucretia myth such as Otway's she-tragedy *Venice Preserv'd* (1680) or Nathaniel Lee's *Lucius Junius Brutus* (1680), *The Forced Virgin*'s resolution hints that the forces that drives Lucretia to murder and suicide are not localizable to a single tyrant. The tyrants of *The Forced Virgin* are smaller in scope and more mundane than Roman emperors or absolutist kings. The rape and suicide of the Roman maiden that led to the overthrow of the Roman monarchy and founding of the Republic is here reconfigured in *The Forced Virgin*, which represents Lominia's rape as a shameful secret that she alone must bear, rather than a cause for national outrage. The crucial differences between the end of Lucretia's story and the end of Lominia's are illustrative of English civil law's conflicted relationship with women's property rights at this juncture: while Lucretia's death inspires a civil war, the only social concession to the injustice done to Lominia is Arastes's self-imposed exile at sea (39). Lominia has slain one tyrant herself, but not before he had already inflicted lasting damage on her body and mind through rape. This secret history critiques an entire social order, one that will not admit the real story of what has happened to Lominia but prefers to resolve in terms of commerce and a moral about female purity.

The alternative narrative register of the surveillance chronicle makes *The Forced Virgin* more than just a prurient, but didactic, text. Lominia's last letters and the existence of the narrative, ostensibly courtesy of Jane Blachford's "pity," make *The Forced Virgin* a literal testament to surveillance chronicles' expansive ability to create alternative models

for, and critique and comment on, existing narratives about women's subjectivity. The "secret history" here is not just that a young woman was raped, murdered her rapist's child, and subsequently hanged herself: it is the dark bower, her agony simmering under the surface as she struggles to return home and face her former lover, the similarity between the dark grotto-like arbor in the frontispiece, the hyper-fantastic cave where she is raped, and its metonymic counterpart in her own uterus when she gives birth to a child who "would not be any longer restrained in his darksome cave." The existence of the child is an "enigma" to Lominia, speaking finally to her feeling that her very body has conspired against her in germinating the product of her rape (27). We can thus consider an alternative meaning to the idea of the "unnatural" mother—Lominia's protest against the mysterious biological process that revisits the violence of her rape upon her once again.

Lysanor's assumption that his violation of Lominia will naturally lead to domestic bliss now that the deed is done aligns with the later domestic novel's preoccupation with the manifestations of male desire and authority. Lominia's rape literalizes the disparity between male desire and female consent. If, as Helen Thompson has argued, Eliza Haywood's amatory fictions focus on the paradox of male inconstancy once a desired object has been obtained, *The Forced Virgin* makes constancy like Lysanor's its own type of peril ("Eliza Haywood's Philosophical Career" 124-151). The only way for Lominia to make her disagreement with Lysanor effective is by fatally stabbing him in the heart (thus returning his physical penetration for an invasion of her own), and then dragging herself home "through the open wild…into the high way, which led to her Father's house" (17). Her return to "her Father's house"—a deeply evocative line that again prefigures

*Clarissa*—further exacerbates her dilemma, because it is here that she learns that even a man she trusts is capable of rape and deceit.

Surveillance fiction is uniquely suited to make this point, almost two decades before *Clarissa*'s publication, because of its preoccupation with revealing the coercive social structures that might cause women to leave their parents' homes or even to commit murder. *The Forced Virgin* is a graphic account of a young middle-class woman's rape by two men, one a type of overt villain familiar from captivity narratives and the other her erstwhile fiancé. The narrative draws on the secret history's tradition of critiquing the sexual sins of powerful people, and also owes a generic debt to the tradition of the captivity narrative, which typically moves between exoticized faraway lands and more recognizably English territories. In setting the story within a modern bourgeois family in a place that is nominally supposed to be England, *The Forced Virgin* anticipates later domestic novels in suggesting that the potential for sexual violence is always already prevalent within the domestic realm and may have devastating economic and psychological consequences.

## Conclusion

In the 1720s, surveillance chronicles began to absorb and incorporate aspects of other genres in order to meet the changing concerns of an expanding middle class public, who had learned from reading earlier fictions of surveillance, as well as formative periodicals, that they too could be spies. Surveillance literature became particularly preoccupied with social and cultural issues that touched the lives of the emerging bourgeoisie and professional classes, including gender roles, property rights, and the consequences of sexual violence. These narratives take their concerns with illegitimacy,

adultery, financial ruin, and sexual violence from the matter of sexual and political scandal that makes up the secret histories and spy narratives of the Restoration and early eighteenth century, and considers these concerns not just within the realm of the socially elite and powerful, but for a public who are themselves subject to surveillance, and to concerns about how money and power function in their own lives.

Just as Bampfield and Smith are critical of their patrons' methods and motivations, the characters in *The Forced Virgin* and *Bath Intrigues* use their own powers of surveillance to critique the relationship between power and spying. While *Bath Intrigues* is more overtly concerned with how spying and sexual violence are related, in *The Forced Virgin* the reader becomes the surveyor of the protagonist's traumatized inner emotional world, disjointed beyond language as she is subjected to sexual violence for which she can find no recourse except death—a radical account that prefigures Samuel Richardson's *Clarissa* by several decades.[15] Haywood's secret histories are the most obvious precursor to narratives such as *The Forced Virgin*; alternative narratives such as Lominia's arose out of a concerted effort by earlier secret historians to expand the limits of the genre.

Although the authors of *Bath Intrigues* and *The Forced Virgin* incorporate aspects of earlier secret histories and surveillance chronicles in order to highlight women's vulnerability to surveillance and the results—sometimes comic, sometimes tragic—of their lack of recourse, and also to critique the efficacy of surveillance itself. *The Forced Virgin*'s story of raw injustice aligns with Laura Rosenthal's analysis of Haywood's romances as precursors to gothic fiction in their "unwelcome and disturbing returns, in the overwhelmed rather than the triumphant, in sublime pleasures and open wounds" (7).

Haywood's interest in telling the stories of the "losers of history" means that most of her narratives offer their mistreated female protagonists a way to have their stories heard (4, qtg. Luke Gibbons)[16]; the text contains both the official and unofficial versions of the story. *Bath Intrigues* is a satirical text that calls attention to the conventions of the romance narrative by making fun of how these conventions play out in "real life" and against modern technologies of communication. Furthermore, *Bath Intrigues* suggests that surveillance implicates the surveyor and can even make him fall prey to the behaviors that his watchful presence is meant to thwart. Surveillance chronicles in the early eighteenth century such as *The Forced Virgin* and *Bath Intrigues* explicitly show women navigating unofficial channels of power and authority because the official ones—such as legal and medical recourse, or even forms of print such as periodicals—are either closed to them or dominated by male voices.

The final years of the eighteenth century share some of the same qualities of paranoia and instability about tyranny, arbitrary government, and surveillance. Both narratives under discussion in this chapter rely on, but also critique, surveillance, particularly the surveillance of women and both conclude that such surveillance disadvantages women who try to conform to the standards of the ideal virtuous woman. In the following chapter, I will extend this chapter's concerns about power, secrecy, and authority to late-eighteenth century domestic novels and the gothic novel, which share the surveillance chronicle's impulse to reveal and critique coercive social structures.

Figure 5: Frontispiece to *The Forced Virgin* (1730).

# Notes

[1] Amatory fiction and pornographic novels both deploy some of the same narrative and rhetorical techniques as fictions of surveillance, including spy tactics such as cross-dressing, disguise, and intercepted correspondence. As Barbara Benedict has noted, for example, Behn, Manley, and Haywood, a few of the eighteenth-century's foremost female writers of both political and amatory fictions, draw on the conventions of surveillance fiction in "find[ing] a cultural space for spying in the novel…to exploit new kinds of visual lust and new representations of peeping, to provide an ideology for the publication of sexual novels…[which] manifest [romantic empiricism] as experimentation in love" (Benedict 194). Indeed, one of the most famous works of eighteenth-century pornography, John Cleland's *Fanny Hill: Or, Memoirs of a Woman of Pleasure* (1749) is built on the interception of illicit information, pleasure, and visual surveillance.

[2] As Chico argues, the story of women's private spaces, particularly including the dressing room, "is not necessarily a story of improvement or advancement": for instance, although the trope of the dressing room had been "claimed" by the end of the eighteenth century by domestic novelists, the dressing room's new status as a marker of (often maternal) virtue came at the expense of—and suspicion about—certain kind of female autonomy and identity divorced from marriage and motherhood (*Designing Women* 31-32). Straub has also demonstrated convincingly that "the emergence of a social consciousness" in the eighteenth century about the often fraught relationships between individuals and their families, workers and employers, and families and public life

demonstrates that the boundaries between public and private were under negotiation, rather than solidly defined (2).

[3] Haywood's secret histories, most of which take place in urban settings, focus not on courtly life but on citizens of middling and lower stations (King, *A Political Biography of Eliza Haywood* 45-46). Haywood created several savvy, market-driven franchises that contributed tremendously to the genre's popularity. Following Delarivier Manley's lead, she capitalized upon people's interest in scandals in high life, but went one set further in her innovative methods of marketing her publications. Haywood's production of secret histories—as calculated as any of her work, with also included periodicals and amatory fiction—expanded the limits of the genre. This is not to say that Haywood did not also look to Manley's example in critiquing particular individuals at court; indeed, she delighted in it. In the 1720s, for example, Haywood published scandal fictions that were also revenge fantasies written to settle her own personal scores under the "Island" franchise that began with *Memoirs of a Certain Island Adjacent to Utopia* (1724-1725), and included *The Mercenary Lover* (1726) and *Reflections of the Various Effects of Love* (1726). As Kathryn King describes, Haywood's publishing strategy relied on what would be referred to, in contemporary terms, as "brand identity"; that is, the various genres in which she worked—the scandal chronicle, the secret history, political polemic, and periodical, to name a few—were each assigned a different aesthetic within the Haywood marketing machine. For example, Haywood published, as "Mrs. Haywood," "racy but polite amatory fictions in the *Love in Excess* product line," as well as translations of Madame de Gomez's *La Belle Assemblée* (1724) and its sequel, *L'entretien des Beaux*

*Esprits* (1734) (32). Haywood created these various brand identities to match the genres in which she worked and was adept at keeping them separate and distinct from one another so as to avoid "contaminations" between them (38). To some extent, the motivation for this was the continuous need to meet the requirements of a rapidly changing marketplace: just as financial managers recommend that their clients "diversify" their stock portfolios, so secret historians often wrote for several different audiences as a matter of course.

[4] *Bath Intrigues* can also been seen as one of the earliest in a long line of literary send-ups of the spa that appeared over the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; the most notable entrants to this category include Tobias Smollett's *Humphry Clinker* (1771), as well as various "resort verses" such as "Tunbridgiale" (1726).

[5] Haywood attributes these lines to Samuel Garth, but Patrick Spedding has pointed out that they are actually from Dryden's translation of Juvenal's Ninth Satire ("Haywood Confusing Garth for Harvey and Juvenal" n. p.).

[6] Haywood deliberately conflates a private epistolary correspondence with a wider-reaching circuit of scandalous information in order to make a point about the narrow difference between public and private. Stephen J. Hicks draws attention to the way in which Haywood's use of the epistolary form in *Bath Intrigues* is in some ways "less sophisticated" than the epistolarity of some of her other novellas—particularly her translation of Edme de Boursault's *Treize Lettres amoureuses d'une Dame à un Cavalier* (1709; English trans. 1721) and Haywood's *Philidore and Placentia* (1727)—arguing that there is little that marks the narrative as specifically epistolary and not "a gossip column

in novel form" (429). The "gossip column" has its roots in Will's interest in Cloe's activities, and some of the first information that J. B. feeds back to Will has to do with his misbehaving mother-in-law, but from this point, J. B.'s unofficial news branches out and blooms to include a large swathe of Bath society.

[7] Haywood's eidolon in *The Wife* doles out this piece of advice:

> …I would not have a wife expect that a man will think himself oblig'd, because he is her husband, to refrain from all gallantries with others; — no, — he will perhaps say soft things,— write passionate letters, — compose verses, and make presents to a woman whom he may think worthy of his devoirs, and sometimes merely to shew his own wit; all this he may certainly do without having the least design to wrong his wife, and it would, therefore, be the highest imprudence in her to resent it. (259)

Amanda seems to be the only character in *Bath Intrigues* who goes by the book. J. B. is miffed to receive a conduct manual from Will called *Dr. D---'s Proposals* with the rest of his requested books, and tells him "I must have more money or less understanding before I subscribe to any thing he does" (44).

[8] Rochester's play was produced in 1684, but written between 1674 and 1675. It draws upon John Fletcher's *The Tragedy of Valentinian*, although it revises his plot considerably to emphasize Lucina's rape rather than the ensuing power struggle. The s comes from Book III of *History of the Wars*, which details Emperor Justinian's wars against the Vandals. Emperor Valentinian III's part in his is small: he falls in love with the wife of General Maximus—later called Lucina by Rochester—and tricks the Maximum into

sacrificing her to him in a gambling wager (*History of the Wars* 9). She is ordered to appear at his court "to salute [Valentinian's] queen Eudoxia" and is subsequently raped by Valentinian and later dies (8-9). Seeking revenge, Maximus eventually kills Valentinian and forces his widow Eudoxia to marry him. In response, she enlists the Carthaginian Gizeric "to deliver her, since she was suffering unholy treatment at the hand of a tyrant" (10-11). Gizeric rescues her and her son, but forces her to marry him in turn. Rochester's play emphasizes Lucina's rape more than Prokopius's *History of the Wars* (unsurprising given Prokopius's tendency to align female sexuality with tyranny, particularly in *Secret History*); however, the author of *The Forced Virgin* follows Prokopius in removing the heroine's body as far away from other humans and familiar spaces as possible at the moment of her rape.

[9] Tension between the "natural" and "unnatural mother" still lingers in our current age; a cursory Google search returns several confessional blogs by women who declare themselves "unnatural mothers" in an attempt to re-appropriate the term. The idea of natural motherhood now carries certain social and political connotations about the childrearing methods of middle-class US-American and Western European women, and can invoke a number of practices including "natural" childbirth, "natural" foods, and, alarmingly, "natural" immune defense systems.

[10] According to *The London Stage, 1660-1800*, the play was probably performed in the summer or fall of 1697 and the run was "unsuccessful." It was initially registered in the *Term Catalogues* as *Love's Reward; or, The Unnatural Mother* (498).

[11] It is unclear clear whether "the deed" which made Lominia "bleed" is her rape, her pregnancy, her infanticide, or her suicide.

[12] See William H. Forsyth's *The Pietà in French Late Gothic Sculpture* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1995) and Rudolph Binion's "Three Mourning Mothers: The Making and Unmaking of a Christian Figural Complex" in *The Journal of Psychohistory* 26.1 (1998): 449-478.

[13] Harvey cites *A Spy on Mother Midnight* (1748) as a satirical example of this representation of innocuously lusty women. *A Spy on Mother Midnight* is a pornographic text that combines tropes of amatory fiction and secret histories, while also drawing on the figure of the naïve, sexually repressed women in Restoration comedy. Like *Bath Intrigues*, discussed below, *A Spy on Mother Midnight* is an epistolary account of sexual peccadilloes, focusing particularly on the firsthand experience the titular Spy gains when he dresses up as a woman and is thus initiated into a private world of bawdy gossip, intrigue, and illicit sexual practice. Before constructing his plot, Dick F— reads his intended victim's body empirically for signs of emotional and sexual vulnerability:

> …I knew, by her Complexion, she was no constitutional Enemy to the Joys of Love; a moist Palm, a pretty prominent Nose, and a leering Eye, for all it's [sic] devout Aspect, were all Symptoms which promis'd me Friends within the Fort, if I could give them an Opportunity to exert themselves, in Spite of the Out-works of Pride, Religion, and the Discipline of Education and Custom. (7)

Outwardly, his target seems "as inaccessible as a Seraphim," but it never occurs to Dick that this inaccessibility reflects the reality of her interiority—"She pretends to hate every

thing that's Male"—and he is right (4). The "Fort" of Maria's body synechochally represents the interior space of the lying-in chamber to which Dick hopes to gain access. There is continuity between the treatment of Lominia's body and that of Maria's: the interiors of both their physical bodies are continually used as metaphors for their subjectivity.

[14] In an interesting reversal, Harvey notes that the French erotic writer Retif de la Bretonne saw the rural world as less erotic (and freer from "corruption") than the urban one because "a lack of private space facilitated the community surveillance which prevented moral decline" (162).

[15] William H. Wandless notes that "[f]ollowing her rape, Clarissa cannot communicate; her trauma exceeds her capacity to correspond" (62). Julie Park points out that Lovelace's attempts to document his rape of Clarissa, which is juxtaposed with her own fragmented ramblings after the fact, "shows how male subjectivity fails in representing its desire" (389). See also John Mullan, *Sentiment and Sociability: The Language of Feeling in the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1990) and Elizabeth Wanning Harries, *The Unfinished Manner: Essays on the Fragment in the Later Eighteenth Century* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1994), especially "Gendered Forms: Fiction, Fragments, and the Feminine" (122-150).

[16] Alathea in *The Mercenary Lover* (1726) screams her suspicions while she suffers simultaneously from the agonies of labor and poisoning, while the women of *The British Recluse* (1722) find that confiding in one another about their experiences at the hands of a rake leads to new revelations about his identity, and Glicera in *The City Jilt* (1726)

takes control of her narrative by seeking revenge. In *The Double Marriage* (1726) Alathia confides her troubles in a friend on her way to Plymouth before confronting her bigamous husband Bellcour and stabbing herself in the heart in front of him (60).

# CHAPTER FOUR: LICENSE RENEWED: SURVEILLANCE IN LATE EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY DOMESTIC FICTION AND THE GOTHIC NOVEL

This concluding chapter considers the genres of domestic fiction and the Gothic novel under the rubric of surveillance fiction in order to argue that surveillance fictions, which index the social implications of secrecy and surveillance, are reconstituted through the genre of the novel during the latter half of the eighteenth century. None of the novels discussed in this chapter label themselves secret histories, nor do they have any characters who are called "spies." This is not to say that early eighteenth-century writers were not conscious of the generic parameters of the secret history, or the political implications of writing within the form. However, we have just seen in Chapter Three that the generic parameters of secret histories in the 1720s and 1730s became more overtly inclusive of topics beyond court politics, and specifically applied romance tropes to secret histories about middling individuals rather than figures who were directly allegorical to upper-class political or court figures. Such a transformation resulted in the term "secret history" being rather more loosely applied in the latter half of the eighteenth century, particularly in the wake of the increased popularity of domestic fiction; elements of surveillance fiction appear throughout the second half of the eighteenth century and also mark nineteenth-century domestic fiction.

Most domestic novels end with the revelation of secrets: confessions of love, disclosures about parentage, explanations for behavior, and personal discoveries are all

features common closing tropes in narrative fiction from the 1720s onward. Sandra MacPherson, for example, traces these moments of critical discovery in the novel to the idea, first put forward by Ian Watt but supported by the work of many twentieth-century critics, that the development of the novel form in the eighteenth century is the s of the development of the modern conception of the individual and of personal psychology (2), but she suggests that these moments of discovery in the novel—tragic or otherwise—can also be attributed to the novel's enduring commitment to causality, that is, to plot (9-10). That is, the representation of the modern self occurs not in spite of plot but because of it. Macpherson's point that the novel in the eighteenth-century is marked by strict liability's "preoccupation with the material fact of harm [which] outweighs any interest in the character or interiority of those involved in a crime or accident" can be applied, for instance, to William Godwin's *Caleb Williams* (1794), that exemplary novel of both eighteenth-century social and political surveillance. If "the novel, like tragedy, is a form of strict liability" (10), then it behooves us to consider that the mechanisms of causality in the novel often depend upon surveillance.

The first half of this chapter considers spy narratives and secret histories in terms of the broader historical and social contexts for fiction in the late eighteenth century, particularly the domestic novel and the paranoid, secrecy-obsessed realm of Gothic fiction. I begin by discussing the changing nature of surveillance in the eighteenth century through the lens of two domestic fictions: Richardson's *Pamela* (1740) and Maria Edgeworth's *Castle Rackrent* (1800). Richardson and Edgeworth respond to and elaborate upon the form of the secret history in their treatment of private people (that is, not the famous personas veiled by allegory in the court secret histories of the 1690s-1710s)

whose actions take on larger social and political significance when contextualized against eighteenth-century history.[1]

*Pamela* and *Castle Rackrent* are not often involved in the same critical conversations: published almost sixty years apart, the novels take place in vastly different milieus and while the epistolary *Pamela* was a cultural phenomenon in its day, *Castle Rackrent* is typically discussed in terms of its fabular qualities, as an example of the Irish national tale, or as one of Edgeworth's earliest forays into fiction-writing (she published *Belinda*—which she labeled a "moral tale," rather than a novel—a year after *Castle Rackrent*, but most of her domestic novels were not published until the following decade). I have brought these two novels together because they are fine examples of the different ways that the culture of surveillance became imbricated within the popular novel form. Furthermore, both *Pamela* and *Castle Rackrent* offer narratives of surveillance centered upon members of the lower classes. Mr. B's surveillance of Pamela's person and her letters is a reminder that the divide between public and private is non-existent for all but the wealthiest eighteenth-century women, but particularly women servants such as Pamela. However, her story had the power to fascinate—and sometimes horrify—eighteenth-century readers for whom Pamela's revelations about her employer in her letters seemed a form of counter-surveillance that their own servants might easily undertake. Although Pamela's counter-surveillance of Mr. B (via the letters she writes that she begins to assume he will read) is ultimately what causes him to reform and marry her, the novel also raises questions about how secrets function within the working relationship between servants and their employers living under the same roof.

In the second half of this chapter, I shift focus to the Gothic novel and the culture of surveillance that emerged at the end of the eighteenth century. My first example, Maria Edgeworth's *Castle Rackrent*, is not immediately identifiable as Gothic fiction, but I believe a case can be made for considering *Castle Rackrent* within the Irish Gothic tradition based on Marilyn Butler's argument that Edgeworth's Irish tales "encrypt" different forms of popular oral and literary culture, including Gothic elements (268). As we shall see, Edgeworth's timeline for *Castle Rackrent* positions the action sometime between 1688 and 1709, the early heyday of English surveillance fiction (270) and during the period of the Irish Rebellion of 1688 (272). The specter of Rebellion, the alignment of the four Rackrents with the last four "feckless, reckless, amorous" Stuart monarchs (273) and the portrait of the crumbling, fallen Rackrent estate and the dissipated family life therein brings *Castle Rackrent* into direct interplay with the Gothic form's traditional preoccupation with nationalism, the family, and haunted histories. This tradition also relates to my second example, Sophia Lee's *The Recess*, which portrays Ireland as a strange locale populated by a sexually licentious and even bloodthirsty people. In *The Recess,* Ireland is represented as a site of the physical and psychological excess associated with the Gothic genre. Both *The Recess* and *Castle Rackrent* follow earlier surveillance fictions such as *The Forced Virgin* in their preoccupations with revealing family secrets, which are subsequently shown to be indelibly linked to the life of the family and the nation.

In her preface to *Castle Rackrent*, Edgeworth suggests that such revelations can benefit the general public. Justifying her narrator's revelations of the Rackrent family

secrets, she suggests that such secrets serve as exemplum for a reading public concerned with how private behavior and public appearance correspond:

> We cannot judge either of the feelings or of the characters of men with perfect accuracy from their actions or their appearance in public; it is from their careless conversations, their half finished sentences, that we may hope with the greatest probability of success to discover their real characters. (1)

Written almost a century after the English translation of Prokopius's *Anekdota*, Edgeworth's words nevertheless echo the secret history's prevailing mission to reveal what has previously been hidden, and even suggest a moral impetus behind such revelations. While *Castle Rackrent* does not deal in the same kind of salacious details of torture and sexual excess that *Anekdota* does, Edgeworth's tale of economic abuse, imprisonment, and the tyrannical misuse of power places it firmly in line with the tradition of secret histories. The examples Edgeworth cites of "careless conversations" and "half finished sentences" correspond to the later definition (circa 1761) of "anecdote" as "narrative of a detached incident, or of a single event, told as being in itself interesting or striking" (*OED*). Here, the direct Latin translation of *anekdota* as "hidden things" is, in Edgeworth's narrative and in much of domestic fiction, perfectly conflated with the mundane, the trivial, and the highly personal. What is domestic fiction, after all, but the relation of previously hidden, private stories, and what are hidden, private stories but a series of trivial incidents?

The development of the Gothic novel added another dimension to the erotics of secrecy, one that would deeply influence the way in which secrecy is associated with the

sublime in romantic poetry and fiction. In many ways, the sexual sins and secrets of gothic novels such as Walpole's *The Castle of Otranto* (1764) re-stage the torrid sexuality of secret histories of the Stuart courts. This may partially account for the comparatively small amount of secret histories published in the latter half of the eighteenth century, and particularly in the 1750s and 1760s.[2] The Gothic form was popular in the late eighteenth century because, like the secret history, it offered a way of processing historical might-have-beens, as well as reflecting upon present-day social injustices.

*The Recess*[3] is a compelling re-imagining of Elizabethan court politics, which were often an object of fascination for writers of history and sentimental fiction, and Gothic literature. The novel was published prior to the French Revolution and is not usually considered in direct relationship with the tumultuous events of the 1790s and the response of Gothic novelists such as Ann Radcliffe and Matthew Lewis to these events. However, I specifically examine how Lee's deployment of Mary Queen of Scots combines elements of sentimental and Gothic fiction in its imagining of how Mary's tragic fate is perpetuated through the lives of her two (fictional) daughters. The Gothic novel tends to be concerned with overtly domestic matters such as family struggles, inheritance, marriages, incest, and patriarchal tyranny; most Gothic fictions follow domestic fiction in telling the story of a family, and usually feature a romantic plot. Indeed, female lovers commonly bear the brunt of Gothic fiction's taste for daring escapes, disasters, lustful encounters, and unjust persecution. The form achieves this primarily through affect: the dramatic, emotional language of Gothic fiction is meant to invoke various responses in the reader of horror, terror, excitement, and sympathy.[4] If

earlier surveillance fictions are committed to the idea that the world is run via the mechanisms of secret springs, then late eighteenth-century surveillance fiction suggests these springs are, to quote Agnes Repplier's comment on Jane Austen, about "the secret springs that move a human heart" (207). Like secret histories, Gothic novels function by claiming to expose networks of secrets which most often link the family with sexual depravity, political or religious tyranny, financial excess, or other forms of social malfeasance. Although secret histories of the second half of the eighteenth century still purported to expose the inner workings of political power, their strategies were quite different from that of their early eighteenth century counterparts: they tended not to offer up-to-the-minute revelations, but rather, as in the case of *The Recess*, re-evaluations and re-considerations of past events.

I examine how surveillance functions in *The Recess* in two ways. First, I discuss how the narrative unfolds in a steady series of revelations that make its heroines continually more unsafe. Secrets, *The Recess* suggests, can never be kept: secrecy and disguise are not effective for Ellinor, Matilda, or anyone else in *The Recess*, wherein cabinets, catacombs, and tombs are constantly invaded and the heroines spend much of their time emerging from formerly safe spaces into new and dangerous territories across the world. Political and familial secrecy are in many ways reified through the structures of buildings and rooms represented in domestic fiction. In the early eighteenth century, as Chico has pointed out, the lady's dressing room was a site for the display of a wealthy woman's lush possessions and her similarly decorative and luxurious body, which intimately aligned the fabulous interior of the dressing room with the commodified body of its occupant (*Designing Women* 59). A woman's social and sexual power, made

possible by her conspicuous wealth, are both aligned in this configuration; and the early eighteenth-century secret histories draw clear parallels between the private bedchamber and the political council chamber, as Bannet has noted ("Secret Histories" 394-395). Small, enclosed spaces such as closets were thus deeply politically resonant; this resonance was amplified in the case of cabinets, which metonymically mirror private rooms and yet exceed them in their ability to provide privacy because they are mobile and almost always equipped with locks. The Warming Pan scandal of 1688, as Rachel Weil has discussed, was essentially a political ploy that nevertheless gave rise in the public imagination to the idea of secret, subversive materials related to the fate of the nation being smuggled in and out of women's bedchambers, and thus associated women's private spaces with a potentially dangerous level of freedom (92-94).

The cabinet is a familiar signifier of governmental and bureaucratic secret histories, but also especially significant to those versed in the history of Mary Queen of Scots's Casket Letters, which supposedly (the originals have long since disappeared) betray her intention to murder her second husband, Lord Darnley. Mary's infamous casket of letters could be seen as a starting point for the presence of the casket as an object of fascination and intrigue in eighteenth-century fictions. George Buchanan's *History of Scotland*, including his *Detection*—evidence presented at Mary's initial trial that she and Bothwell had conspired to kill Darnley—was re-printed in 1689, immediately after the "Glorious Revolution" saw the erstwhile end of the Stuart dynasty, and can only have helped Whig historiographers in their campaign for William's right to rule. *Detection* also went through three editions in 1733 and 1734. Revived interest in Buchanan's narrative in the early eighteenth-century—which corresponded with the

publication of Haywood's *Mary Stuart*, a source for *The Recess*—can be attributed to a reading public attuned to narratives of conspiracy and detection written by alleged insiders; that is, there was a market for such fictions as a result of the proliferation of secret histories and spy narratives in the last half century.

Later in the century, the woman's private closet did come to denote an element of concealment and a space for self-fashioning (Chico, *Designing Women* 33); as Ina Ferris points out, women's private spaces in Gothic novels by Ann Radcliffe are often centers wherein heroines can muster their "psychic and moral resources" (95). However, even the late eighteenth-century closet was endowed with a performative aspect in the association between women's closets and private readings of closet dramas, and in representations of the closet in novels such as Edgeworth's *Belinda* (1801) as spaces that facilitated disease, deception, and disguise. *The Recess*, in contrast, suggests that women's woes begin when they are forced out of the privacy and relative safety of their private space; Ellinor and Matilda practice most of their deception, out of necessity, in public, rather than private spaces. The novel thus gives lie to the idea that it is dangerous for women to have too much privacy or to have access to their own exclusive spaces.

In the second part of my discussion of *The Recess*, I consider how the ocular relationship between Ellinor and Essex embodies the epistemological unreliability that secrets unleash into the world. In this regard, *The Recess* contains some elements of the paranoid and defensive self-surveillance represented by Bampfield and Smith in the early surveillance narratives. It also precedes examples of the twentieth century spies in literature who find themselves "out in the cold" and unable to maintain identification with the causes due to the psychologically damaging nature of their work.

In *The Recess*, the impact of constant surveillance on the psyche is rendered through Lee's representations of looking and being looked at. For instance, Ellinor and Essex continually speak to one another with their eyes; however, this "language" becomes more and more unreliable and unknowable as Essex's political fortunes change and Ellinor descends into madness. In many ways, eyes are metonymic extensions of the novel's recesses, caches, cabinets, and other hidden spaces: they must be penetrated in order to be understood, but they also penetrate on their own behalf. Here we must consider Swenson's vital distinction between extromittist and intromittist theories of optics. *The Recess* uses both: sometimes "the gazer is active; the eye sends rays that search and rove" and at other points, "the eye receives impressions via rays that proceed from objects" and "to see…is to take in rays" (30). Eyes, in *The Recess*, thus serve dual purposes and draw on different, and sometimes competing, eighteenth-century visual theories. In *The Recess*, eyes are the primary barometers of characters' inner lives and they also act as significant indicators of characters' moral states, but they are also importantly capable of action: eyes in *The Recess* can discover secrets, wound, kill, and heal.

While, like most Gothic novels, *The Recess* is set in "other times." Lee is ultimately commenting upon the conditions of her own modernity, suggesting that the contemporary world is unsafe for women such as Matilda and Ellinor who are among what Laura Rosenthal and Luke Gibbons have called "the losers of history" (Rosenthal 11, qtg. Gibbons xii). If early eighteenth-century secret histories created a space for women "in the gaps and vacancies, which is to say, in the recesses that Mary Queen of

Scots had fashioned for them" (Lewis, *Romance and Nation* 132), then the ending of *The Recess* suggests a limit to those spaces and to those narratives.

In *Pamela* and *Castle Rackrent*, the first two novels I consider in this chapter, surveillance functions as a mechanism by which coercive social structures are revealed to the reader in order that they may be dismantled and disempowered. In both cases, the revelation of secrets only affects private individuals, but these revelations also have broader social and political consequences because they reveal a chain of causality that ultimately indicts an entire system of being, whether that system be the relationship between servants and employers in *Pamela*, or the prevalence of absentee English landlords in Ireland in *Castle Rackrent*. The following section takes *Pamela* as an example of the way in which the domestic form enfolds certain elements of earlier eighteenth-century surveillance fictions.

Samuel Richardson's *Pamela*

I begin with a discussion of *Pamela* because it demonstrates how writers of narrative fiction encountered and enfolded generic elements of the secret history into popular works that become part of the cultural consciousness. First, I'd like to consider how surveillance as a plot device in *Pamela* bears resemblance to that within earlier eighteenth-century oriental tales.[5] I will use this as a way in to my argument that *Pamela* draws on familiar tropes of Stuart secret histories, particularly regarding the way in which women generate their own forms of illicit knowledge. In this light, I will consider how spying functions in Pamela, and how both Pamela and Mr. B act as spies: Mr. B from within an established system of patriarchal surveillance—as both Pamela's employer and the local squire, representative of the aristocracy's considerable social and economic

power—and Pamela from her position as generator of unregulated epistolary correspondence.

*Pamela* draws upon familiar tropes from earlier secret histories both in its overarching representation of a struggle between freedom and tyranny and in details such as the surveyed circulation of private letters,[6] the correspondence between undermined psychological privacy and the invasion of enclosed interior spaces such as closets, bedchambers, and beds themselves. As Ballaster has argued, both Marana's *Turkish Spy* and the oriental tale, particularly Galland's translation of the *Arabian Nights Entertainments*, are sources for *Pamela*'s deep dependence on these tropes familiar from earlier amatory fictions and oriental tales, both of which claim kinship with surveillance fiction. Oriental tales, according to Ballaster, "make significant associations between the letter form and the act of 'spying.' *Pamela* likewise relies on epistolary spycraft to drive the plot, "in terms of the heroine's struggle to keep her correspondence secret, [and] its interception, manipulation, and incendiary effects." Furthermore, as Ballaster reminds us, "Pamela's text, which Mr. B. forces her to deliver into his hands, proves the means to reform her master from rapacious libertine to domestic head of household" (*Fabulous Orients* 9). Surveillance in *Pamela* means that most of Pamela's letters are read by someone who is not the intended recipient. It also means, however, that Pamela can write for both her intended reader and her surveyors; in this way, Pamela turns Mr. B's surveillance of her to her advantage. In *Pamela*, therefore, surveillance is both a method of control hostile to her psychological integrity, and also the means by which she expresses this interiority and ultimately manages to gain a certain amount of agency over her own subjectivity in spite of the tyrannical social forces represented by Mr. B. In this

sense, Pamela follows the secret history's representation of women as wily, potentially manipulative spinners of narrative.

*Pamela* also follows the secret history in its equation of the female body with gossip and other forms of excessive speech. To Mr. B, Pamela is a "prattling" "Sawcbox" (31), an "Equivocator" able to use words to manipulate reality (30), and unable to keep secrets (72).[7] In naming her so, Mr. B preempts criticism of his behavior toward her, including his unauthorized surveillance of her body and her writing, attempted rape, and kidnapping. The novel shares the same impulses as political secret histories, and particularly a concern with how to respond to tyranny.[8] As Michael McKeon notes, "*Pamela*…helps contributes [*sic*] to the peculiar pattern by which women novelists of the later eighteenth century exercise unprecedented authority in the public sphere even as their novels depict female characters whose respectability requires that they be largely innocent of public activity" (649). *Pamela*'s critique of Mr. B's behavior suggests that the tempering power of domestic, family life, embodied by the angelic and blameless wife, can stopper such tyrannical, patriarchal abuses.

Both Pamela and Mr. B. spy on each other. Mr. B does so for many reasons: he wants to control what Pamela tells her parents about his behavior towards her, he wants to keep her from escaping her captivity in Lincolnshire, and he wants to know her private thoughts and feelings towards him. Mr. B's ability to spy on Pamela is authorized by his position as her employer and, in a sense, as her political patriarch. His status as a landed aristocrat gives him far-reaching abilities to oversee and to regulate the conduct of people under his jurisdiction. Thus, when Pamela briefly considers appealing to a civic authority such as a local magistrate over Mr. B's (initial) attempted rapes, she almost immediately

dismisses the idea upon realizing that the magistrate is Mr. B himself. As a Member of Parliament, as a giver of livings to the clergy, and as the employer of many servants whose livelihoods depend upon his beneficence, Mr. B is endowed with both civic and private powers that permeate the domestic space.

His power over her is further compounded by his position as her employer. It is important to recognize the link between Pamela's position as a female servant and her position as object of Mr. B's—and by extension, the world's—surveillance. Pamela's social and economic position, as well as her gender, render her vulnerable to surveillance and also make her an object of concern because of the female servant's perceived potential for sexual licentiousness. As Straub contends:

> Richardson places his morally conscientious heroine in the context of servant literature's prevalent characterization of women servants as either childlike, passive victims or, if they exercise their economic agency, as predatory whores. (47)

Eighteenth-century employers were concerned about their servants' potential for physical and economic mobility, as well as their intimate knowledge about the household in which they worked—consider, for example, the secret network of footmen in *The Town Spy* selling information about illnesses and deaths in the family to doctors and undertakers, as well as the numerous instances of servant gossip being the cause of someone's downfall in scandal fiction and Restoration drama—and tried to place constraints on all three. In the first half of the novel, Mr. B hovers almost omnipotently over both Pamela's correspondence and her person, but Pamela's servitude influences the responses that are available to her.

Mr. B's initial goal in surveying Pamela's writing is to constrain all possibilities that anyone could know her side of the story of their encounters. In the immediate aftermath of Mr. B's attempted rapes of Pamela in the summerhouse and in her bedroom, he attempts to conduct an absurd bargaining process with her that gradually reduces her options and constrains her ability to communicate what has happened to her: if she will tell no one what has happened, he will forget that she has dishonored him by refusing him sexually (24). The offered bargain—which includes a piece of gold that Pamela refuses to accept— hinges on her ceasing her writings, which are, in effect, her own secret history.[9] Pamela does not agree to stop writing, and her writings become a source of curiosity for Mr. B and his household because, as Mrs. Jewkes notes, "one is naturally led to find out Matters, where there is such Privacy intended" (155). Pamela does not at first realize that her letters are being read, but when she does, she essentially becomes a double agent: writing both *for* Mr. B and in spite of him.

*Pamela* joins the secret history in presenting a set of circumstances that can be ambiguously interpreted—and in *Pamela*'s case they certainly were; as Toni Bowers notes, "Some saw in Pamela's behavior a calculating simulacrum of resistance or an initial act with its own seductive power" (254). This "controversy" over how to interpret Pamela's actions and her character speaks to the fact that many readers—both then and now—are suspicious of women's motivations, accounts of rape, or stories that upend supposed social norms. At the beginning of her narrative, Pamela exists under her employer's surveillance, both through Mr. B's reading of her correspondence and through the observation of his emissaries, Mrs. Jewkes and Mr. Colbrand; at the end, she exists under her husband's. At no time is she ever unsurveyed; at all times, her motivations are

suspect. As Gwilliam points out, Pamela's life depends on her *correct* deployment of duplicity:

> In the eighteenth century, thus, the hostility to feminine duplicity operates symbiotically with covert requirements that women behave in ways that could be construed as duplicitous; that is, women's behavior and bodies were supposed to provoke desire, but women were forbidden to provoke desire intentionally or to be conscious of their desirability. (18)

The onus is on Pamela to figure out how to navigate her changing social circumstances—and the new surveillance that she finds herself under at the beginning of the novel—without appearing to consciously do so.

For this reason, Pamela's writings often involve self-surveillance, which she has been culturally programmed to conduct, both by conduct literature and by her religion. Initially, she consciously watches her behavior as a way of coming to terms with the change that has come upon the household at the opening of the novel with the death of Mr. B's mother and the end of her erstwhile protected existence. Pamela's private writings illustrate the highly public nature of the female domestic servant's existence. In exploring her feelings about how to negotiate her change in status after her mistress's death, coupled with navigating her employer's apparently newfound sexual interest, Pamela always considers how her actions will reflect upon her and her family, rather than how her employers' actions will reflect upon them. In her written ruminations about receiving her former mistress's clothes, Pamela tries to negotiate how best to use these material goods without accidentally overstepping the boundaries to which women and women servants in particular must conform (Straub 53-54).[10] She formulates plans for altering

the clothes to fit her status, considers how best to accomplish her departure from Mr. B's house diplomatically, and later plots her escape from captivity all in writing. When she realizes that she is under surveillance, however, she begins to make a point of committing these thoughts to paper against the day that she fears Mr. B "will ruin me, and tho' my poor Strength will not be able to defend me, yet I will be innocent of Crime in my Intention, and in the Sight of God" (*Pamela* 188). Her purpose in doing so is to leave a trail her parents and others can follow after the fact, as proof of her resistance.

Pamela's ability to negotiate her economic and social position by regulating her property and to navigate Mr. B's lecherousness during her conscious encounters with him is nothing short of a *tour de force*; she has to possess extraordinary resourcefulness to be able to survive in his house. As Lubey contends, Pamela is aware that she is no ordinary servant ("Eliza Haywood's Amatory Aesthetic" 143). Nancy Armstrong's argument that Pamela "becomes a creature of words" (13) does not hold up under serious scrutiny, but Pamela's words are significant in that they often veil more than they reveal. Lubey argues that Pamela's description of Mr. B's initial assault on her as she sleeps, illustrated by "syntactical and grammatical unrest signals Pamela's own incomplete knowledge of what transpired" (148). As Jessica Leiman contends, Pamela's language—and her story—become co-opted by Mr. B's systematic demonization" of her narrative over the course of the novel; to that end, Mr. B strategically employs a narrative that essentially mirrors many of the anti-Pamela satires that followed the novel's publication and which imagine Pamela's extensive writings correspond to her extensive sexual appetites, and thus imply that Pamela's "secret carnality" allows her to master her master (234). Richardson's use of the word "slippery" to describe Pamela is both a signal of both her perceived sexual

availability and a nod to the elusiveness she must practice in order to maintain her privacy and bodily integrity in the face of this perception.[11]

Richardson seems to acknowledge, as Pamela cannot, that the outcome of Pamela's situation depends on whether Mr. B decides he will gain more by co-opting and controlling Pamela's narrative, turning her frantic pleas for help into the precursor for his reformation and redemption, rather than by simply raping her. However, as Spacks suggests, the continued confusion over the nature of Pamela's character also attests to the degree of psychological privacy that Richardson allows Pamela. What Spacks says of Clarissa can be applied to Pamela as well: "We can never know enough about [her] to understand definitively the degree to which she is saintly, the extent to which is manipulative, or the ultimate scope of her self-awareness" (17). As much information as readers are given about Pamela's life and her feelings, which seem ostensibly laid bare through her extensive writings, her inner motivations—apart from her desire to provide a trail of evidence of resistance against what she sees as her inevitable ruin—are still open to interpretation and doubt (and it is these openings that Haywood and Fielding took full advantage of in their parodies of *Pamela*).

Later eighteenth-century fictions of surveillance are rarely so generous to their female characters. As we shall see, Gothic and domestic fictions of surveillance take something of a tragic turn that I believe corresponds to the later eighteenth century's foreclosure of shifting social, political, and gender identities. As Ballaster notes, "Pamela’s text, which Mr. B. forces her to deliver into his hands, proves the means to reform her master from rapacious libertine to domestic head of household" (9). In *The Recess*, discussed below, secrets and secret writings are sources of disaster, and the well-

born heroines may yearn for social recognition even more than for the political power to which they are entitled, as Rosenthal argues (13), but their attempts to achieve these objectives drive them both to madness, tragedy, and death. As Wahrman contends, late eighteenth-century attitudes towards disguise strongly associated hiding oneself with early eighteenth-century masquerade culture, which came to be considered immoral and indecent. The masquerade, Wahrman asserts, "was a sanctioned, ritualized, to a degree even conventionalized exploration of the possibilities inherent in the *ancient regime* of identity" (164). If masquerade sought to "touch upon, and admit, the limits of identity," the eventual disappearance and stigmatization of masquerades at the end of the eighteenth century suggests that those limits had become welcome and even reified (165). As such, there was room for sentimental narratives questioning the historical status quo, but at the same time it was imperative—both for the sake of sentiment and for the sake of social order— that such narratives ended sadly.

Maria Edgeworth's *Castle Rackrent*

Surveillance in both *Pamela* and *Castle Rackrent* is initiated by the lower social orders, but while readers are given direct access to Pamela's private letters, the Rackrent family history is directly narrated to the reader by their long-time servant, Thady Quirk. Both novels' main characters overtly question how surveillance functions in their lives: Pamela becomes (rightly) paranoid about her letters being read but also arguably writes them for an audience (her parents, Mr. B., and the reader), for example, while Thady offers up information about the Rackrent family to readers and to his son, who uses that information to gain control of the Rackrent estate. Without declaring themselves

surveillance fictions—e.g., *The Secret History of Pamela Andrews* or *A Spy on Castle Rackrent*—these two novels depend upon surveillance for the creation of their narratives.

If Gothic novels are usually situated in ruined castles in far-off lands and deal with darkly secret family legacies and supernatural elements, *Castle Rackrent* is certainly a proto-Gothic tale, even going so far as to situate the narrative in the murk of "other times." These "other times" are not so far off as one might presume (Butler 271-274), although Edgeworth is careful to assure us that "the race of Rackrents has long since been extinguished in Ireland" (4). Edgeworth, is determined that her readers understand that the events of *Castle Rackrent* took place before 1782 so that it will not seem as though she is attempting to implicate any current Irish landowners in her critique of absenteeism and other bad practices in estate management, although the novel clearly engages with the aftermath of the 1798 Irish Rebellion, with a careful eye on the consequences of unchecked revolution in France.[12] At the same time, she clues the careful reader in to a potential time frame for the events of the narrative that lend it a certain affinity with early English fictions of surveillance.

In the overlap of secret history and Gothic fiction in *Castle Rackrent*, we can see how the Gothic genre both enfolds and expands upon the example set by surveillance fiction in the early eighteenth century. Castle Rackent is a crumbling ruin of its former glory, its dilapidation a metonymic reflection of the degraded moral character of its owners. It is a site of captivity for several brides, most notably Sir Kit's wealthy Jewish wife, held hostage for years for her jewels.[13] Finally, there is an element of the Gothic in the uncanny mirroring of the Rackrent and Quirk families, who have chased each other down the generations to come to this fatal moment wherein the Quirks supersede the

ancient Rackrents. Jason Quirk's extensive plot, years in the making, to capitalize upon the Rackrent family's moral failings (the fatal combination of greed and profligate spending), is conspiracy itself.

By writing about the rotten core of a single family resulting from the English practice of absenteeism two years after the Irish Rebellion of 1798 (inspired by the recent American and French Revolutions), Edgeworth also joined the ranks of secret historians who had responded to the spate of revolutions over the past century and a half. In its contemporaneity, *Castle Rackrent* aligns itself with the secret historians of the pamphlet wars in the 1710s. While these largely relied upon embedded code names for public figures (Arlus and Adolphus, The White Staff, The Sceptre, etc.), the heirs of Castle Rackrent represent the various types of neglect that the English ruling classes have consistently imposed upon their feudal Irish subjects: the spendthrift, the skinflint, the kindly and sociable, the mean. Edgeworth also exploits the secret history's tradition of exposing the vicissitudes of people's private lives as part of an impulse to know "the most minute facts relative to the domestic lives, not only of the great and good, but even of the worthless and insignificant." Additionally, it is already a truth universally acknowledged that "the great are not as happy as they seem…behind the scenes" (2). Although Edgeworth knows that readers will not have heard of the Rackrent family, they were once great, says Thady Quirk, who reveals himself as a double agent by at once declaring his loyalty to the Rackrent family and bringing up the topic of his own son, Jason, who has "better than fifteen hundred a year, landed estate" (Jason's estate is, we come to find, Castle Rackrent) (8).

Unlike a typical secret historian, Thady tells secrets without seeming to know that they are secrets. Beginning with the tale of Sir Patrick Rackrent's death, Thady proceeds to narrate the downfall of the Rackrent family, apparently unaware that he is damning them with faint praise and illustrating their spendthrift nature while simultaneously declaring his loyalty to the family. In his seemingly innocent revelations, Thady also epitomizes the state of the childlike servant recommended by eighteenth-century conduct books as a method of maintaining the family hierarchy. As we will see, Thady's loyalty, like his position as a Rackrent family servant, is double-edged. While ostensibly on the side of the Rackrents, even against his own family, he spins a disenchanting tale of the decline of a family of drunkards, rakes, and spendthrifts with a tone of veneration, or at least neutrality, that renders his narrative ironic. Edgeworth's narratorial strategy relies on Thady slipping the secret history of the Rackrents to readers bit by bit, as in the case of his commentary on Murtagh's refusal to pay his ancestor's debts:

> Sir Murtagh alledging [*sic*] in all companies that he meant to pay his father's debts of honour, but the moment the law was taken of him, there was an end of honour to be sure. It was whispered (but none of the enemies of the family believe it) that this was all a sham seizure to get quit of the debts which he had bound himself to pay in honour. (12)

The "whispers" to which Thady refers are undoubtedly the truth of the matter. In its opening pages, therefore, *Castle Rackrent* accustoms its reader to listen for such whispers in the rest of Thady's narrative. The Rackrents' legacy always depends upon cheating their tenants, in some form or other, as well as diminishing the Rackrent estate through debts or through sales. Their secrets are social—the wretched personalities they display

to their servants are surely not the ones they show to their own social circle—and yet these secrets' ramifications are almost entirely economic: the Rackrent family loses their estate due to their own economic hubris, not their social malfeasance. If anything, the family's intense sociability renders the distinction between their public and private situations even more stark.

The most obvious argument for *Castle Rackrent* as surveillance fiction rests in Thady Quirk's role as a spy. Thady's surveillance of the Rackrent family is not dangerous in and of itself—as Edgeworth points out in the introduction, it is through stories like this that we can come to know something of people's private lives and judge for ourselves whether they have lived well—but his ingenuousness makes him vulnerable to the machinations of his son Jason, who knows what to do with the information about the Rackrents' worsening economic situation that his father unwittingly passes on to him. Thady's account of Sir Murtagh's death exemplifies the private power of the Quirk family to control their own narratives (it is publicly given out that Sir Murtagh died of an illness contracted at court) and how easily this power is undermined by surveying servants. Thady reveals that he died of an apoplectic fit over his wife's extravagant expenses, and Thady particularly implies that Murtagh's refusal to believe Thady's earlier warning about the banshee may have been a factor in his violent demise:

> But Sir Murtagh thought nothing of the Banshee, nor his cough, with a spitting of blood, brought on, I understand, by catching cold in attending the courts, and overstraining his chest with making himself heard in one of his favourite causes. He was a great speaker, with a powerful voice; but his last speech was not on the courts at all…But in a dispute about the

> abatement my lady would have the last word and Sir Murtagh grew mad; I was within hearing of the door, and now I wish I had made bold to step in. He spoke so loud the whole kitchen was on the stairs. (17-18)

The rest of the servants witnessed this scene as well, so Murtagh's last speech was, inadvertently, delivered to his household, and not an admiring audience of courtiers, as Thady implies might have been expected from someone in his social position. The episode is capped by Lady Murtagh's departure from Castle Rackrent, much to Thady's silent satisfaction (18). Thady's role in the above scene is worth paying attention to, as he suggests that he could have prevented or alleviated Murtagh's death if he had "stepped in" from the place "within hearing of the door" wherein he witnessed the scene between Murtagh and his wife (of whom Thady tacitly disapproves). If not directly complicit in the passing of Castle Rackrent from the Rackrents to the Quirks, Thady is certainly responsible for leaving the reader with the impression that Castle Rackrent's tenants have suffered from a series of poor landlords.

There are also supernatural forces at work in the relationship between the Rackrent and Quirk families. Although Thady is "loyal" to the Rackrent family, he is also part of the Irish peasantry who hold great stock in such ancient Irish superstitions as fairy mounts and banshees (the Banshee is, as Edgeworth reminds us, attached to particular families). Thady makes it plain that the Rackrents hold no truck with superstition when he mentions how Sir Murtagh "dug up a fairy-mount against my advice, and had no luck afterwards" (16). As Susan B. Egenolf points out, Irish fairy mounts are more than just idle superstitions; they are "literally mounds of Irish soil...[and] the ownership of that soil has been contested for decades" (855). Thus, Sir Murtagh's digging constitutes both a

spiritual and a social violation, and an overstepping of his boundaries as a landlord. Thady's narrative style invites readers to see him as nothing more than a superstitious servant, but in tying these contested, magical locations to the fate of the Rackrents, Thady makes a vital comment on the family's legitimate claim to the Rackrent estate. In *Castle Rackrent*, banshees and fairy mounts do indeed signal the downfall of the Rackrent family, and it is significant that Thady Quirk is the one who introduces these superstitions into the narrative because he himself is more responsible for this downfall than he is willing to admit. The Quirk family and their attendant fairies and banshees have existed in the shadow of the Rackrent family for generations, until the Rackrent's mismanagement,[14] which Thady Quirk has carefully watched, places them at the other family's mercy. The Quirk family doesn't just believe in banshees; they *are* banshees. Furthermore, the revelation of the banshee's displeasure at the Rackrent family's treatment of their fairy mount is, moreover, a form of supernatural surveillance unique to the Gothic novel. As in the case of *The Castle of Otranto* (1764) the supernatural intervention goes unexplained; at the same time, the connection between Thady's reading of the banshee's curse on the Rackrent family and his own family's part in the family's displacement raises the specter of the supernatural, using it at a "catalyst for narrative" (Castle 108) while also casting a shadow of rationalist doubt upon the idea that the banshees exist at all except as metaphors for the Quirks.

While early eighteenth-century secret histories are often exposés of the power behind the throne, and *The Recess* exposes the limits of that power and the damage that history can inflict upon the personal psyche, Edgeworth's *Castle Rackrent* reveals that the "power" behind one family lies in fact, in another family, and this a family of domestic

servants. The word "privacy" can relate both to a person's civil status, either identifying a man as "withdrawn from public life," or indicating that he does not hold noble rank (Bannet, *The Domestic Revolution* 128). The idea of privacy also relates to a definition more familiar to modern readers in its indication of secret, as opposed to public, knowledge. Popular writers of domestic fiction in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century exploited this definition without necessarily resorting to direct identification with the fictions of surveillance that clearly influenced their work. Bannet notes that Maria Edgeworth considered *Castle Rackrent* in the category of "secret memoirs and private anecdotes" (1); in doing so, she was participating in a literary tradition that stretched back to early eighteenth-century secret histories.

Sophia Lee's *The Recess*

The Gothic novel's tendency to be set in the remote past is a way for authors to—consciously or not—reinvent history by imagining events outside or apart from, received history. As Bannet argues, secret histories represent the uncertain boundaries between fiction and history in the eighteenth century: "in secret history, history in different guises colluded" (379). With this in mind, I turn to a discussion of the early Gothic novel, *The Recess*, which violently challenges patriarchal histories in its emphasis on the damage that patriarchal narrative does to women.[15] I will first consider its early eighteenth-century narrative precursors, particularly Haywood's *Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots* (1725), which places *The Recess* within the tradition of secret histories.[16] I will then briefly touch on Mary Queen of Scots's position as an affective figurehead for late-eighteenth century readers and writers, as well as her association with emotional Jacobitism. Finally, I will analyze how spying in *The Recess* refigures the late-seventeenth century accounts of

spies as alone in the face of a paranoid and hostile world. While the revelation of secrets is seen as means of subverting tyranny in early-eighteenth century surveillance fictions, the revelation of secrets in *The Recess* does not lead to increased freedom, but misery and terror. I will particularly examine how Ellinor and Essex's relationship consists of various forms of ocular surveillance that ultimately plunge them both—as well as the reader—into epistemological uncertainty.

*The Recess* is a secret history in the literal sense in that it is an alternative account of the end of the Stuart dynasty. The novel is also a product of the culture of Stuart secret histories. Lee's work was preceded, and likely inspired, by *The Secret History of the Most Renowned Q. Elizabeth and the E. of Essex* (1680), which was continually in print throughout the eighteenth century. Subtitled *The Amour of Queen Elizabeth*, this secret history features Elizabeth as violently susceptible to both her love for Essex and the manipulations of her ministers. However, *The Recess* owes particular inspiration to Eliza Haywood's 1725 arguably loose, but certainly pro-Stuart (Carnell, "Narratological Tropes" 107) translation of Pierre le Pesant de Boisguilbert's *Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots, Being a Secret History of Her Life and the Real Causes of All Her Misfortunes* (1674). As Lewis points out, "Under Anne, secret histories gave women writers access to political express: pretending to expose courtly intrigues—often sexual ones—female-authored secret histories seldom told the truth. What they did do was reunite politics with Eros in a way that Mary Queen of Scots herself might have found highly congenial" (*Romance and Nation* 132). It is additionally significant that Haywood translated Boisguilbert's original title from *Marie Stuart, Reine d'Escosse, Nouvelle Historique* not to its literal meaning *Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots, A New History*, but chose to replace

(or mistranslated the phrase, as Lewis suggests [*Romance and Nation* 132]) "nouvelle historique" with "secret history."[17] Haywood's translation creates a natural alignment between the "secret" and the "nouvelle" and its attendant association with the novel form. That Haywood, savvy marketer that she was, chose "secret" over "nouvelle" also shows that she thought a secret history would be a better seller.

*The Recess* is in many ways a continuation of Haywood's work, which depicts Mary's life as fraught by her subjection to overly influential, scheming courtiers and unfaithful, impolitic lovers. As is evident from the title, Haywood's biography emphasizes that real sources of the difficulties in Mary's life stemmed from secret causes—more particularly, her lovers. Haywood's translation, as Mary Helen McMurran points out, "makes free with the original text for…affective purposes" (86). Haywood's "affective purposes" link her emotive, amatory text with later eighteenth-century sentimental reimagining of Mary's reign, her relationships with her lovers and her cousin Queen Elizabeth I, and her interior psychology. Haywood's account of Mary's execution, for example, is rendered in fully tragic mode (239-240), down to the details of her dress and the ivory crucifix she supposedly carried (238); details like these captivated eighteenth-century readers and solidified Mary in the public imagination as a sorrowful figure, treated unjustly by Elizabeth I and neglected by posterity. As Rosenthal points out, Haywood's heroines often "find themselves confronted with a force larger than themselves, an oceanic eroticism that leaves them utterly without the power to tear themselves away" and, in this, they are aligned with "the sublime—the sense of a powerful, awesome force outside of oneself" that is also the central energy of the Gothic form ("Discrepant Cosmopolitanism" 19).

While Lee's tale of the long-lost daughters of Mary Stuart, their love affairs, heartbreak, and suffering at the hands of the Elizabethan court is, of course, fictional, it is presented in such a way as to be plausible, especially to sentimental readers. Mary was already a highly romanticized figure, and the late eighteenth-century nostalgia for the Stuarts, which as Mary Spongberg has argued was considered a mark of women's high sensibility elicited new interest, fascination, and sympathy for Mary's plight and spurred imaginative interest in new perspectives on her history (58-59). Furthermore, the story's fictionality does not diminish the fact that Mary *could* have had two daughters, and such an idea opens up countless other possibilities for alternative imaginings of history at a moment when people were beginning to look back to the reign of the Stuarts with something resembling nostalgia and were also newly pondering the implications of regicide. William Robertson's *History of Scotland* (1759), as Anne Stevens notes, stages Mary's life with elements of "melodrama, "descriptive language," and supernatural connotations" that invoke the Gothic before the Gothic novel even existed (264). *The Recess* influenced Jane Austen's portrayal of Mary Stuart in her juvenile *History of England* (c.a. 1790), as Devoney Looser convincingly demonstrates (190).[18] Fictional interpretations of Mary's life continue throughout the nineteenth century, and owe a particular debt to Friedrich Schiller's *Mary Stuart* (1800) as well as Donizetti's subsequent libretto for his opera *Maria Stuarta* (1834). Haywood may have set the stage, as it were, for these dramatic representations of Mary's life in describing Mary's prosecution as "the last scene of the tragedy [where] the theatre was got ready, and the spectators seem'd to look on whatever was to be acted without the last concern" (211). Arguably igniting this craze for alternating representations of Mary in the eighteenth

century, *Mary Stuart* highlights the immense theatricality of the affair, and particularly of the alleged conspiracy against Elizabeth's life that gave the monarch her excuse for prosecuting Mary.[19]

Haywood significantly uses the literary device of the stolen cachet of letters to precipitate Mary's fall (230-231). *The Recess* draws on this early eighteenth-century tradition of paranoia over the contents of opaque boxes in its obsession with caskets, cabinets, and architectural spaces that bear resemblance to these hidden caches (the Recess itself, as well as the novel's many prisons, and other enclosed spaces such as ships and tombs). As Rachel Weil argues, there is a relationship between this paranoia and the Warming Pan scandal perpetuated by supporters of William and Mary and used as an excuse to turn popular support against the heirs of the deposed King James II. Weil points out that the Warming Pan scandal gave women's voice particular prominence because women were supposedly the only ones present at the birth; this prominence also came with a certain amount of wariness over women's ability to interfere with patriarchal lines of succession on the basis of what they said they had seen or done in the privacy of the bedchamber, and subjected their accounts to "male paranoia over paternity" (93). Although, the Warming Pan myth was debunked in the early decades of the eighteenth century, writers of all stripes retained a fascination with using hidden objects as both plot devices and political metaphors for unjust usurpation and invasion. *The Recess*'s numerous cabinets and caskets, including the casket into which Matilda confines the letters that contain her narrative at the novel's conclusion, is reminiscent of the familiar black-box trope that signals the presence of conspiracy in late-seventeenth and early-eighteenth century surveillance fictions.

*The Recess* is written to evoke painful emotions from readers well versed in sentiment. As Jayne Elizabeth Lewis points out, because Mary was "[t]urned by many tragedies into a ruler of the private realm, she demanded the vocabulary of sensibility" which is inherently at odds with "linear narrative" (167). In a fascinating study of women's diaries and letters in the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth century, Lynne Vallone has argued that:

> "Mary, Queen of Scots" functions as a "floating signifier" with multiple points of access that can be attached and reattached to different ideologies, making her s open to conflicting interpretations. By appropriating the story of a queen who failed to fit the model of feminine behavior promoted in books by such mainstream male authors as Goldsmith, Hume, Robertson, and Sir Walter Scott, girls "re-remembered" Mary, Queen of Scots and actively engaged in scripting a version of the past that combined acts of private writing with public events. (2-3)

Mary's association with the language of sentiment toward the end of the eighteenth century can, on the one hand, be seen as a form of cultural and historical reclaiming on the part of these young women. On the other hand, Murray Pittock reminds us Mary Stuart was, throughout the eighteenth century, symbolically associated with Jacobite thought. As "a Jacobite call sign who equated to the Stuart heir while being safely consigned to history," Mary as a figure underwent a shift in the cultural imagination after 1745 when she became primarily a signifier of what Pittock calls "sentimental Jacobitism," which marginalized Jacobite politics and history while also allowing them a place in mainstream, Whig-oriented historiography (73). The only way to maintain this place, I suggest, is for the narrative to be tragic, rather than triumphant (and therefore

potentially destabilizing). The misfortunes that befall Matilda and Ellinor seem excessive, almost sadistic, as the women lose their identities, their birthrights, their husbands, Matilda her daughter, and Ellinor her mind. Disguises can't effectively shield them from the bright tyranny of Queen Elizabeth's court, and the men who swear to help them supposedly out of love and fealty are probably operating with ulterior motives in mind. The most Whiggish of sentimental readers could not help but be affected by their plights.

*The Recess* is a story about the dangerous and destabilizing results of the discovery of secrets. The narrative consists of a series of violations of inner sanctums, both literal and psychological, that make it plain that secrecy and disguise are ultimately impossible. Take, for instance, Matilda's and Ellinor's faces, which register their relationship to the imprisoned Mary Stuart and her (imagined) fourth husband, Lord Norfolk (Ellinor is the spitting image of Mary, while Matilda resembles Norfolk). This leaves them open to potential recognition throughout their time at the court of Queen Elizabeth; unable to disguise themselves openly, they do their best to blend in at court and not draw the attention of Elizabeth's "scrutinizing eye" (157). At the same time, Ellinor makes the most amateur of mistakes by wearing the documents proclaiming her birthright around her neck. When Elizabeth briefly knocks her unconscious (in what is perhaps a heavy-handed protest on Lee's against the hide-bound nature of patriarchal history, Elizabeth throws a book at her), she easily discovers the secret documents around her neck and destroys them (120). As soon as the women come into possession of the secret of their identity, they begin to lose control over that secret. All narratives of surveillance and conspiracy set out to destabilize a preconceived notion of the way the world functions, but *The Recess* goes further, suggesting that there is no place in

modernity for the ancient secrets of the Stuarts. While its sentimental narrative endeared *The Recess* to readers, there is no denying that the narrative is fundamentally conservative as to the matter of whether any form of social recognition is possible for people who are unable to conform to the modern world both socially and politically.

Lee's novel's obsession with the constant violation of these private interior spaces is also evident on the level of plot. The decline of the Recess itself, for example, is linked with a secret cachet of papers concerning the sale of the "valuable timber" (199) around the Abbey that leaves the lands "barren" (207). The sale was brokered by a bailiff and surveyor who apologizes to Ellinor on his deathbed, confessing that he stole gold and jewelry from a locked casket with an eye to starting his own building business in London (208). In another example, Essex's love for Ellinor is likely driven by his "ambition" (257) to her potential claim to the throne of Scotland, as evidenced by his abiding interest in her lineage and his search for "authentic testimonials" of Ellinor's birth that he imagines are "dispersed among the Catholick relations and friends of Mary" (214). In recalling the tradition of the sealed box of secrets, *The Recess* aligns itself with more recent Stuart history. The tragic end of an early Stuart matriarch also foreshadows the downfall of the House of Stuart in England, beginning with James I. Their presence attests to the narrative of history as a series of conspiracies—the very basis of early eighteenth-century surveillance fiction. At the same time, no discovery ever bodes well for the heroines of *The Recess*; each newly revealed secret takes things "from bad to worse to even worse yet." The fates of these hidden and lost cachets of treasure or documents hold a prominent place in *The Recess*'s discourse on the limits of secrecy. In line with the Gothic trope of the dark family secret, in *The Recess*, the secrets of

matriarchal family are presented as potentially powerful but thwarted on all sides by the steamrolling forces of history. Ellinor and Matilda are ultimately prevented from participating in life outside the Recess due to their family's tragic history.

The breathless movement of the story follows the twins Matilda and Ellinor on a journey through various prisons: first their Recess—the converted Abbey where they grow up unaware of their royal parentage—then under the watchful eyes of Elizabeth I and her claustrophobic court, and then variously in tombs, on ships, in castles, and in literal prisons in both England and Jamaica. With Mary Queen of Scots in prison, her daughters are brought up in a prison of their own, carved out of the catacombs of an ancient abbey. The story's first major revelation—that the Matilda and Ellinor are the long-lost daughters of the imprisoned Mary Queen of Scots—corresponds with the death of their guardian and erstwhile mother and their departure from the Recess, a departure that, as Laura Rosenthal puts it, takes matters from "bad to worse to even worse yet" (13). The novel's very structure is a jangling, disjointed series of events "jammed together in ways that defy readers to discover logical connections among them" (Lewis "Ev'ry Lost Relation" 169). To that end, the plot of *The Recess* is itself fragmented and destabilized, even as it dramatizes the fragmentation and destabilization of its heroines. It demonstrates the limits of surveillance, both personal and political, and even gestures toward modern quasi-nihilist fictions of surveillance which follow Bampfield and Smith in their focus on the way in which spying can fracture and even destroy the self.

Ellinor's relationship with Essex is primarily defined by their visual connection to one another, which seems to first define and then destroy Ellinor's sense of self. Eyes, and ocular connections, take on their particular prominence in the narrative once the

women arrive at Queen Elizabeth's court after leaving the Recess. Elizabeth's historical position as a spymaster, as discussed in Chapter One, made her an excellent figure for later writers such as Lee who sought to draw out the personal aspects of Elizabethan espionage from the perspective of the women of her court "surrounded by spies" (157) and writ large in the late eighteenth-century imagination by such images as Elizabeth's Rainbow Portrait. The Queen 's "keen eye" (157) is capable of a "killing look" (170). Lady Pembroke, who mediates the delivery of Ellinor's written narrative to Matilda and acts as a "watchful monitress" (189) over her during some of her periods of insanity, also seems to have a supernatural intuitive sense of the misfortunes that will befall Ellinor through her connection with Essex. Her intuitive gaze is a counterpoint to Queen Elizabeth's "killing" one.

It is hard to overstate how prominently eyes feature in Ellinor's narrative: for example, in the two pages describing her first meeting with Essex, there are nine references to "eyes," "looking," or a variation thereof (159-160). In the literature of the early eighteenth century, as Swenson has argued, "the dynamics of vision as a physical as well as social process" (27) are often considered through metaphors such as windows and doors that undercut "our assumptions about the privileged position of the (masculine) seeing subject and the subordination of the (female) object" (28).[20] Both men and women in *The Recess* are at times the subject and object of the affective gaze, which seems designed to emphasize passions and emotions, especially unwitting ones, and ultimately render characters subject to the "sublime" and "oceanic" forces which Rosenthal aligns with both Haywoodian eroticism and the Gothic form.

Ellinor's story is mediated through her letters to Matilda, and these letters are themselves mediated through the figure of Lady Pembroke, who often breaks into the narrative to add clarifications or addenda, especially as Ellinor's mental health deteriorates. The reader is already at a considerable distance from Ellinor, whose actions become more and more confounding as her narrative continues. Ellinor's entrance into subjectivity in *The Recess* is set in motion by her first glance of Lord Essex: "he looked, and I then first seemed to see" (160). Ellinor does not specify whether she means that she first noticed Essex when he looked at her, and the absence of this specificity suggests that she first began to see all things when he looked at her, as though their visual connection were also a form of activation: Ellinor links the formation of her selfhood to her first meeting with Essex. Their first encounter also reflects the novel's abiding preoccupation with disguises and dual identities: Essex mistakes Ellinor for the woman who is to be his fiancé, but they fall in love at first sight upon their first glance into one another's eyes (160). The description of their meeting places great importance on their visual connection: their secret relationship forms before they have spoken to one another, while they are in the presence of many other people (one of whom is Essex's fiancé).

Ellinor's connection with Essex not only begins with a glance, it seems to *depend* on continuous glances. Essex's contention that "you are gone, you are torn from me for ever, if once these eyes lose sight of you" proves true over the course of the narrative: when the two are apart, which is often, misunderstanding and disaster follow (168). When Ellinor's ocular connection with Essex is broken, she is prone to "cruel wandering" (185)—increasingly-extended bouts of madness—as a result of her continuously tragic circumstances (particularly her betrayal by Leicester and her mother's death). The

experience of Essex's death has an objective impact on her eyes, which she describes as "blasted with beholding the pale statue of my love" (265). In her lucid moments, Ellinor recognizes that these wanderings are ontological disruptions, which make it impossible for her to be understood or to understand herself: "something strangely intervenes between myself and my meaning" (185). She has little memory of these occurrences, and prefaces her relation of them by noting that she knows only what "they tell me" about her actions during her bout with insanity (187). Ellinor is thus unable to account for or regulate her behavior and becomes a political and social liability (and an achingly sympathetic character for readers hungry for the pathos of sentimental fiction).

As Essex pursues his political ambitions, Ellinor continuously loses her grip on reality, as her ontological integrity seems to depend on his presence. When Essex says that Ellinor will be gone forever if his eyes lose sight of her, he foreshadows her mind's literal disappearance before that of her physical body. When they meet again after a long separation, Ellinor is unaffected by his presence, noting that "though my eyes surveyed his form, my heart for the first time seemed to shut him out and fold itself up in utter darkness" (202). During their reunion, they stand before a portrait of Essex, upon which her eyes are "fixed" as he watches her watch an "inanimate" version of himself (203). Later, she has trouble discerning whether their meeting happened at all (202). Ellinor's experiences with "wandering" sometimes make her think she is Essex, rather than herself: feeling a new episode coming on, she says, "I fear I begin again to wander, for my hand-writing appears to my own eyes that of Essex" (196). Her insanity leads her into existential crises and then resolves them by uniting her with the man whose sight brings her into being.

But men in *The Recess* are not to be trusted because their ambitions are always outside their domestic relationships. Both Essex and Leicester claim to fall in love at first sight, but their surveillance of the sisters is never disinterested. They are essentially double agents, serving the sisters' causes only for the chance to inherit their claim to the throne. Essex is most often described in terms of his "enflamed eyes" (188, 201). These inflamed eyes stand in metonymically for his body, which is described only minimally, and suggest that he surveys excessively, outside the boundaries of what is desirable of a sociable gentleman—his gaze goes further than it should. The idea of inflammation is both erotically suggestive and implicative of disease or disorder, both of which apply to the amorous Essex who seems to love Ellinor better than Leicester does Matilda, but is conflicted about his politically ambitious relationship with Elizabeth I.

The story of Essex's life is told through his eyes: at the height of his popularity with the Queen and his abilities as a leader, his eyes are "enflamed," but when he overplays his hand they become "mistaken" (260). His confidence in the love that the very sight of him seems to inspire in women leads him to his doom: confident that Elizabeth's love for him will overcome her desire to punish him for seeming to desert her in favor of the Irish battlefield, "he persuaded himself he need only be seen to triumph" (253). Unfortunately, he misjudges the extent of her affection for him and when his popularity disappears he is "left…a vacuum in nature" (260-261), subject to the "stupid and curious eyes" of the masses rather than the watchful, if dangerous, eyes of the Queen (261). Elizabeth does not so much condemn Essex as abandon him to "the laws," and when she does, "the desertion of the people…opened his eyes to the realities of life" (261) at which point he realizes the consequences of his high-minded ideals (262).

Essex's final "look of corrected knowledge on the spectators" at his execution upbraids them for abandoning him, and leaves them to the fate—which the reader knows is in the hands of Elizabeth's heir, the callous James of Scotland (265). Essex's execution in *The Recess* in many ways foreshadows the 1793 execution of Louis XVI, at least in the Burkean sense: Essex's death is portrayed as a victory for an uninformed and bloodthirsty public and signifies a blow to both enlightened rulers everywhere and to an ancient order of nobility, born to lead.

Essex's masculine identity consists of conflicting characteristics: his love for Ellinor is rendered in the language of sentiment considered a positive trait in the late eighteenth-century gentleman, but his ruthless ambition for leadership and his juggling of two women aligns him with the Restoration rake. Here I draw on Erin Mackie's study of forms of masculinity in Frances Burney's *Evelina* (1778), a domestic novel published only a few years before *The Recess*. According to Mackie, Burney uses a variety of male characters in *Evelina* to display and destroy various caricatures of eighteenth-century masculinity that have no place in modern polite society. The fop, the rake, the highwayman, and the patriarchal tyrant are all reviewed and dismissed in favor of the sensible, domestic, private Lord Orville (149). I suggest that the men in *The Recess*, and particularly Essex, are similarly dismantled and found wanting. At the same time, it is significant that neither Matilda nor Ellinor comes in contact with a model of sensible masculinity in order that they may "master the signs of [virtue's] representation" as Evelina does (154). Each sister is smitten with a suspect gentleman, and each sister is suspicious of her sibling's relationship; Ellinor's narrative in fact opens with her calling the late Leicester "selfish" for his behavior towards her and Matilda (159). In entangling

the sisters' love affairs with both their political and psychological well-being, *The Recess* calls attention to surveillance as both a social regulator and a form of political power play. In this respect, it is very much of a product of early eighteenth century secret histories, which wrestle with representing the personal and the political consequences of spying.

There is an element of the eighteenth-century conduct manual in *The Recess*'s attempt at providing both an education in sentiment and one in prudence. Disaster first comes to Matilda as a consequence of her decision to marry Lord Leicester, who is shown throughout the novel to be deeply concerned with his own rank and position (leaving us to assume that his attraction to Matilda is at least partly rooted in his desire for a claim to the Scottish throne). In Leicester and in Essex, Mary's daughters repeat their mother's unfortunate romantic entanglements, which Lee presents as both inevitable—in the context of the world of Gothic fiction, fate, and the tragedy that overhangs the Stuart dynasty in both Lee's world and the historiographical world of the late eighteenth century—and highly avoidable. *The Recess* thus comments on tragic inevitabilities, as do many earlier secret histories that are concerned with representing coercive power structures but cannot ultimately offer solutions to the quandaries their characters encounter.

In a novel about unmoored, unproven identities that are nonetheless powerful and dangerous, Ellinor's fractured mental state reflects the epistemological category of all the unknown daughters of history, whose possible existence Lee's alternative historiographical strategy calls into being. *The Recess* makes many appeals to its readers' sensibility, suggesting only those refined enough will understand the impact that lost

figures such as Ellinor and Matilda have on history. The "erroneous multitude" will continue laboring under the illusion that Mary Queen of Scots died childless and the Stuart line will remain "misjudged…by a busy world which sees only the surface of things" (227).[21] Like the early eighteenth-century secret history, *The Recess* positions itself again "absolute authority" and "tyranny" (249), pitting tyrannical people such as Elizabeth I and the Laird of Dornock, whose oppression of marginalized figures such as Matilda and Ellinor is pitted against the more virtuous leadership of Lord Essex and even, to an extent, Lord Leicester.[22] The sexual sins and secrets of Gothic novels such as *The Recess* re-stage the torrid intrigues of secret histories of the Stuart courts; this may partially account for the comparatively small amount of texts that self-identify as secret histories in the latter half of the eighteenth century.

*The Recess* draws on surveillance fictions' depictions of abjection and terror, as well as their interest in hidden people and places and remote historical figures. The novel responds to history as a way "to rehearse the past and thereby reformulate the present" (Wein 7). Both the secret history and the sentimental novel exist for the specialized reader with the proper background knowledge and sensibility to read the author's claims properly. The imagined influence of Mary Stuart's imagined daughters at pivotal historical moments in *The Recess*—Essex's Irish Rebellion, for instance—suggests that history is subject to conspiracy and tampering, that a world of secret springs exists behind received narratives that can only be laid bare in secret histories, fictions of surveillance, and sentimental or Gothic narratives, and only understood by readers primed to search out and understand that history is the result of such deceptions, secrets, and conspiracies.

# Notes

[1] This is not to imply that domestic fictions that seem to be entirely preoccupied with private lives, and particularly women's struggles within the confines of the family, are not inherently political. Frances Sheridan's *Memoirs of Miss Sidney Bidulph* (1761) is a powerful example in that it offers a tragic account of the limits of the social—and personal—benefits of female virtue as an organizing concept for women's lives.

[2] Secret histories continue to be written in the second half of the eighteenth century, but were much less prevalent than before. Secret histories of the 1780s and 1790s are often concerned with events in France, both political (as in the case of Francois Xavier Pages's *Secret History of the French Revolution* [1797]) and sexual (Madame duBarry's *Genuine Memoirs* [1780]). James MacPherson published the lengthy, and ironically titled, *Original Papers: Containing the Secret History of Great Britain from the Restoration, to the Accession of the House of Hanover* in 1775, the same year that Samuel Johnson's *Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland* asserted that MacPherson wrote, rather than discovered, *The Works of Ossian* (1765).

[3] *The Recess* was published in two parts: the initial three volumes appeared in 1783 and the final two in 1785. It was translated into French in 1787 (Lewis, "Ev'ry Lost Relation" 168).

[4] *The Recess* was "re-discovered," so to speak, at a point when the academy was critically invested in recovering long-neglected works by women writers (Lewis, "Ev'ry Lost Relation" 170). Thus the novel has been specifically aligned with the female Gothic and sentimental fiction, and is often seen as a precursor for the expansion of both genres in

the 1790s and an inspiration for writers such as Anne Radcliffe. *The Recess*'s work in "translating emotional and psychological states into a vocabulary of charismatic objects" (171) however, also aligns the novel with secret histories of the early eighteenth century, particularly works such as *The Forced Virgin* which transfer the captive heroine's psychological and emotional state onto her environment.

[5] See Ros Ballaster's *Fabulous Orients* (9).

[6] Like Eliza Haywood's *Bath Intrigues* (1725) and other surveillance chronicles, *Pamela* is preoccupied with the logistics of how information travels, particularly in terms of coaches.

[7] Throughout the first half of *Pamela*, Mr. B constantly accuses Pamela of telling "all the secrets of my family" (72). Further, Pamela and Mr. B fundamentally disagree about what it means to tell a secret. Pamela does not see it as a breach of trust that she has written to her parents about Mr. B's attempts on her; rather than defend herself against his accusations, she becomes deeply paranoid about how he has accessed her letters (although she does not stop writing them). Mr. B is concerned not only with what Pamela might be telling her family, but with what the members of his household might know about their relationship.

[8] As Michael McKeon points out, *Pamela* is not a secret history in the sense of being "a veiled allegory of public events" (642); according to him, the novel is an examination of the social and political[8] implications of marriage: who marries whom and under what authority, and how do consent, choice, sexual gratification, and companionship fit into the patriarchal social-political matrix which governs matrimony (643). Hence Mr. B's

obsession with threatening to marry Pamela off, at various points, to Parson Williams and M. Colbrand, before he decides to marry her himself, and Pamela's reciprocal concerns about being tricked into a sham marriage (643-644).

[9] As Patricia Meyer Spacks notes, through letters that tell alternate versions of the same events, "readers witness the clash of interpretations and can hardly avoid the obligation to choose among or reconcile various systems of meaning" (*Privacy* 101).

[10] When Pamela receives her dead mistress's clothes and wishes that she could "turn them into money" (*Pamela* 89), we see why almost immediately: silk stockings excite unwanted attention (19) and the rest of the clothes must be re-made to fit her lifestyle (and to forestall concerns about class-slippage à la Haywood's *Fantomina*). Pamela is deeply concerned about what is and is not hers: her money, her property, her space because, as Straub notes, "these become a means by which Pamela attempts to shape an economic identity that is legitimately hers" (49). She is comfortable, for instance, with receiving the four guineas on Mrs. B's body when she dies (*Pamela* 80) and later, a present of five guineas from Mrs. Jervis (89), but less so about gifts of clothes and stockings.

[11] The term arises from a culture that considers female servants inherently sexually available and ready to convert their sexuality into economic and social mobility as the need arises. Their (supposed) ability to change employment at a moment's notice is equated with sexual readiness when Defoe deems female servants "slippery in the tail" in *Everybody's Business* (8; Straub 38) and Mrs. Jewkes tells Mr. B "you'll find her as slippery as an eel, I assure you" (*Pamela* 185).

[12] Edgeworth would likely take issue with my classifying of *Castle Rackrent* as a novel at all because she considered novels "immoral" and distanced *Belinda* (1801) from such a categorization by labelling it a "moral tale" (Looser 194).

[13] As Butler points out, this true story was a familiar one in the late eighteenth century, having been printed in Lady Cathcart's obituary in the *Gentleman's Magazine*. Because of an error in the obituary, readers assumed Lady Cathcart once been resident at Edgeworthstown (272).

[14] The Rackrents are the quintessential bad landlords of legend, but they also bear resemblance to wealthy, landed tyrants popular in Gothic fiction, consumed with some form of private vice that they visit upon their family through the generations. They operate within the confines of the ancient feudal system that pervades Gothic fiction, and which had only recently ceased to exist in France at the time *Castle Rackrent* was published. Through the Rackrents, Edgeworth indicts an entire system of landownership, a more radical stance than she takes in fictions such as *The Absentee* (1812), which suggests that landlordship belongs in the hands of a few Enlightened (English) despots. The worst thing that can happen to the Rackrent tenants is that the family's bad management ultimately leads to the upstart Quirk family's ascent.

[15] As Looser points out, the genre of historical writing in the late eighteenth century was in clear competition with the novel form, which was "not yet considered fully polite" (180). History, at the end of the eighteenth century, was considered "polite knowledge" which "gave women material for acceptable conversation" (189) and popular histories such as Oliver Goldsmith's *History of England, in a Series of Letters From a Nobleman*

*to His Son* (1764) and *History of England From the Earliest Times to the Death of George III* (1771) were popular with educators (187).

[16] In an essay in the forthcoming issue of *The Cambridge Companion to Women's Writing in Britain, 1600-1789*, Rivka Swenson discusses Haywood's sources in further depth. She presented a paper on these sources at the 2014 ASECS conference. Rachel Carnell argues that Haywood's translation "demonstrates [her] familiarity with the narratological tropes of secret histories, as well as her willingness to deploy these tropes to voice skepticism towards anti-Stuart narratives of history" ("Eliza Haywood and the Narratological Tropes of Secret History" 107).

[17] Carnell also points to Haywood's choice of words here, further arguing that her faithful translation of Boisguilbert's preface indicates that Haywood was "retaining Boisguilbert's self-consciousness about writing from a particular historical position" (105).

[18] Looser also notes that Austen was influenced by other fictions, such as Shakespeare's *Henry IV, Part II* (c.a. 1599) and *Henry V* (c.a. 1599), Nicholas Rowe's *The Tragedy of Jane Shore* (1714), Richard Sheridan's *The Critic* (1781), and Charlotte Smith's *Emmeline: The Orphan of the Castle* (1788) (190).

[19] Early eighteenth-century secret histories and spy narratives purport to reveal things that have previously been hidden, but usually do not say anything new. Instead, they affirm the readers' pre-existing belief that the world is run by "secret springs," conspiratorial webs of power controlled by money and sex. If these secret histories hinge on revelations that conspiracies do exist, *Mary Stuart* and later *The Recess* hinge on a conspiracy that

their authors suggest never existed: that of Mary's alleged plot to murder Elizabeth and regain her freedom and her kingdom.

[20] Swenson's point is important to understanding a late-eighteenth century text such as *The Recess* wherein looking, and eyes themselves, are deployed in complicated ways. Her acknowledgment that "in eighteenth-century visual theory, the 'object' of the gaze is *not* the one who is seen but the one who sees" helps us to distinguish the dialectics of eighteenth-century vision from later visual theories such as Laura Mulvey's idea of the masculine gaze (29).

[21] This resignation to the overshadowing of women's contributions to history and narrative recalls Charlotte Lennox's representation of historical heroines from French romances in *The Female Quixote* (1752).

[22] Even Essex is not excused, however, as Lady Pembroke insists that "ambition…was [his] only vice" (257). This ambition is what keeps him from being able to retire peacefully to the country with Ellinor without "fortune" and in the "rude society of his neighbours" (248). It is not an option for such men to "become an absolute rustic"; political engagement is seen as necessary for the fulfilment of their masculine identities.

# CONCLUSION: THE EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY SPY IN THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY

The early spy's influence on modern literary fiction is often taken for granted. Both spies and fictions about spying are older and more pervasive than most modern critical perspectives concede. Hepburn, for example, emphasizes that "the twentieth century [was] a period of formalized and unprecedented spying" (xiii); true as this may be, I would argue that the twentieth-century spy had precedents in fiction and in history earlier than the Victorian and Edwardian eras, which are generally taken as their beginning. Some of the scholarly trends that emerge in current critical studies on the spy novel, which tend to focus on the literary Modern and Postmodern periods, can be brought to bear on critical analysis of the eighteenth-century spy as well. The twentieth-century British spy, for instance, emerged in fiction as a response to fears about German invasion at the turn of the century and became a staunch emblem of Britishness in the face of the Empire's collapse in the wake of World War I. Remarkably, the pre-World War I spy already existed in the imagination of writers such as William le Queux and E. Phillips Oppenheim prior to the official creation of the British Secret Service Bureau in 1909 (Price 82). Throughout the twentieth century, governmental security agencies maintained close links with writers of spy fiction: like Marana and even Defoe, some of the period's most famous spy novelists, including Graham Greene and John Le Carré, are

former spies themselves. This link between fictional spies and real-world espionage operations is tellingly indicative of spying's long history as an exercise in imagining subjectivities.

A great deal of critical work on the twentieth-century British spy novel dates the genre's genesis to the years prior to the First World War, and treats these early spies as emblematic of the last days of Empire. At the same time, the trajectory of the spy's negotiations of the early days of Empire bears resemblance to his twentieth and twenty-first century counterparts as well; both are navigating a world of constantly shifting borders and boundaries and are often inundated with an excess of information that is difficult to utilize or even categorize. Sterling Archer's fear that "If I stop drinking all at once…the cumulative hangover will literally kill me" speaks to the spy's inability to ever stop spying, past the point of usefulness and even sanity. The "hangover," in this case, is the accumulation of information and acts of service that render the spy unfit for participation in an unsurveyed and unsurveying milieu.

During the unstable twentieth century, the spy's world shifts out from under his feet, although he usually doggedly takes a few bad guys down with him. Cold War spy narratives such as Le Carré's *Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy* give voice to the bleak aftermath of World War II's patriotic fervor, portraying spies as disaffected relics of a grander age: "Trained to empire, trained to rule the waves. All gone. All taken away" (114). There are no more grand causes; even the fight against Communism ultimately devolves to empty distinctions, as Smiley reminds Karla: "we're getting to be old men, and we've spent our lives looking for the weaknesses in one another's systems…Don't you think it's time to recognize that there is as little worth on your side as there is on

mine?" (217). These quasi-nihilist representations of spies questioning their professions, motivations, and loyalties also extend to more jaded post-9/11 representations of surveillance.

The past two decades have seen a paradoxical resurgence of the spy figure in popular culture, as well as fascinating developments in debates about the origins of the spy, from the pre-World War I jingoistic paranoia to Cold War communist panic. A modern connoisseur of spy fiction will be familiar with George Smiley, Alec Leamas, and perhaps such ubiquitous spy figures as Rudyard Kipling's Kim, Baroness d'Orczy's Scarlet Pimpernel, and John Buchan's Richard Hannay. The Sherlock Holmes canon has become media executives' darling, with a film franchise and two television series. As Lucy Sussex has shown, there is a direct connection between the development of the Victorian detective, in the figure of Holmes, *Bleak House*'s Inspector Bucket, and *The Moonstone*'s Sergeant Cuff, and Ann Radcliffe's gothic heroines, especially *The Mysteries of Udolpho*'s Emily St. Auburt (30). The trend toward representations of conspiracy and espionage in popular culture is also evidenced by television shows such as *Alias*, *The X-Files*, *The Americans*, and *Homeland*. Any consumer of popular entertainment in 2015 knows of James Bond, Jason Bourne, Jack Ryan, and Jack Reacher. At the same time, competing ideologies of surveillance have come to the forefront of social and political life in the form of debates about the NSA's surveillance of United States citizens, Julian Assange's Wikileaks files, Chelsea Manning's whistleblowing revelations and subsequent detention for violation of the Espionage Act, and the introduction of drones as mobile spies.

In a recent essay for *The New Yorker* entitled "The Prism: Privacy in an Age of Publicity" (2013), Jill Lepore rightly points to a speech by Charles I to his Star Chamber in 1616 which affirms the mysterious nature of the divinely-sanctioned state, noting that "[s]ecret government programs that pry into people's private affairs are bound up with ideas about secrecy and privacy that arose during the process by which the mysterious became secular" (n. p.). Lepore suggests that the late eighteenth century was a time of progression towards freedom of information and political transparency culminating in the American Constitution's claim that, "We hold these truths to be self-evident." In this example, state-sanctioned intelligence-gathering is seen as a late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth century phenomenon made possible by the "Enlightenment" in its vaguest ideological form. Lepore cleverly relates the Enlightenment preoccupation with cataloguing and categorizing to the modern-day digital data-gathering to which twenty-first century Western cultures—particularly British and American—are becoming steadily inured, but little attention is paid to the cultural contexts of spying prior to the American Revolution. Furthermore, Lepore incorrectly conflates her point about the relationship between secrecy and governmental prerogative in the early- and mid-seventeenth century with the "moment in the history of the world, on the knife edge between mystery and secrecy, that the United States was founded" (nearly two centuries after Charles I's speech to the Star Chamber). Lepore is a brilliant academic and historian, but here she discounts the vicissitudes of the seventeenth and early-eighteenth centuries in her desire to align the birth of the United States with the beginning of the idea that the state should be transparent in its operations and dealings with its citizens (although she does of course acknowledge that this has not occurred in practice).

Studying the twentieth and twenty-first century spy can provide us with great insight about the effect of surveillance on individual psychology. In modern times, the necessity for opacity in state affairs has been used to justify all manner of surveillance over its citizens, as well as classified policies, including the creation of so-called "black sites" around the globe as centers for the torture and detention of suspected terrorists. Our spies—both real and fictional—must now to come to terms with this, just as the twentieth-century British spy was forced to grapple with the end of Empire, and Sterling Archer is forced to come to terms with a shoddy health plan and an inflexible flex spending account. The contrast between Ian Fleming's dashing hero James Bond and John Le Carré's "small, podgy, and…meek" George Smiley is prefigured in the difference between John Macky's brash bravado and Joseph Bampfield's soul-crushing paranoia (18). Le Carré's version of Cold War Europe bears startling similarities with Joseph Bampfield's experience of exile and his perception that his employers had abandoned and betrayed him. What is forgotten in these analyses, and one of those points this dissertation has sought to make, is how surveillance fictions in the forms of secret history, spy narratives, scandal fictions, allegories, and *romans à clefs*, offer readers a glimpse at the inner-workings of the state. This dissertation offers a brief glimpse into this fascinating literary mode, but there is still much work to be done on the subject of surveillance fiction and the long eighteenth century.

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Žižek, Slavoj. "Good Manners in the Age of WikiLeaks." *London Review of Books* 33.2 (20 Jan. 2011): n. p. Web. 20 March 2015.

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## EDUCATION

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## PUBLICATIONS

"Secret Histories and Spy Narratives." *The Cambridge Companion to the Secret History*. Eds. Rebecca Bullard and Rachel Carnell. Forthcoming: 2016.

"Maria Edgeworth's 'Rose, Thistle, and Shamrock': Symbolic Unification, Women's Education, and the Marriage Plot." *Eighteenth Century: Theory and Interpretation*. 55.4 (Winter 2015): 377-390.

## AWARDS AND HONORS

2014-2015: Purdue Research Foundation Fellowship

2014: Purdue Research Foundation Summer Fellowship

Fall 2012, Fall 2011: Quintilian Award for Excellence in Teaching Undergraduate Composition

## CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS

October 15-19, 2014
"'Long Ears and Heavy Hands': Joseph Bampfield, John Macky, and the Secret History of the English Spy." Canadian Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies. Montreal, Canada.

March 20-22, 2014
"Urban Spy Narratives, Surveillance Chronicles, and Eliza Haywood's Secret Histories of the 1720s." American Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies. Williamstown, VA.

August 9-10, 2013
"Jacobitism, Women Writers, and the Classical World of Anne Finch's *Aristomenes*." The Daniel Defoe Society. Normal, IL.

April 4-6, 2013
"Maria Edgeworth's 'Rose, Thistle, and Shamrock': Symbolic Unification, Women's Education, and the Marriage Plot." British Women Writers Conference. Albuquerque, NM.

## TEACHING EXPERIENCE

PURDUE UNIVERSITY

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|---|---|
| World Literature from 1700 to the Present | Spring 2013 |
| Introductory Composition: Academic Writing | Fall 2012 |
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| Teaching Assistant: Comparative Mythology | Spring 2011 |
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## RELATED EXPERIENCE

Fall 2013-Spring 2015
Editorial Assistant, *CLCWEB: Comparative Literature and Culture*

Spring 2013
Purdue Online Writing Lab Content Developer

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Purdue University Writing Lab Tutor

## PROFESSIONAL SERVICE

Fall 2012-Spring 2013
Treasurer and Symposium Organizer: Purdue University Early Atlantic Reading Group

Fall 2010-Spring 2011
Purdue University Graduate Student Senate
Academic and Professional Development Committee
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Purdue University Graduate Student English Association
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## COMMUNITY OUTREACH

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